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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS.

ASIA,
Designed for the Works of
TACITUS,
By Robert de Vaugondy,
Royal Geographer,
and Fellow of the Royal Academy at Nantz.
SCYTHIA
DACIA
MŒSIA
MACEDONIA
THRACIA
MARE PONTICUM
MARE CASPIUM
ALBANIA
IBERIA
ARMENIA
ASIA
Aorsi
Siraci
Heniochi
Dandaridæ
Isichi
Gorneæ
Pontus
Cappadocia
Bithynia
Galatia
Propontis
Byzantium
Chalcedonii
Cœletæ
Lydia
Caria
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
Cyprus
Phœnicia
Galilæa
Judæa
Hierosolyma
Alexandria
Memphis
Thebæ
Nabatæi
ARABES
SINUS ARABICUS
SINUS PERSICUS
MARE RUBRUM
CARMANIA
PERSÆ
Chaldæi
Elymæi
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Taurannites
Mardi
Dahæ
PARTHI
Arii
HYRCANIA
BACTRIANA
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
Adiabene
Arbela
Nisibis
Edessa
Antiochia
Comagene
Cilicia
Pamphilia
Lycia
Caria
Lydia
Cyclades
Peloponesus
Cythera
Cythnus
Sparta
Corinthus
Delphi
Thessalia
Thermæus Sin.
Eubœa
Lesbos
Chios
Andros
Cyprus
Paphos
Rhodus I.
Creta I.
Carpathium Mare
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
IONIUM MARE
ÆGEUM MARE
LIBYA
ÆGYPTUS
Hammonis Oraculum
Nilus Fl.
Tanais Fl.
Dandubius Fl.
Cohibus Fl.
Trapezus
Sinope
Artaxata
Araxes fl.
Euphrates Fl.
Tigris Fl.
Arsanias Fl.
Tigranocerta
Nisibis
Ninos
Arbela
Artemita
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Euphrates Fl.
Tigris Fl.
Milliaria Romana
75 150 225 300 375 450 525
Cook. Sculp.

Cornelius Tacitus

THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

WITH

AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS;

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

TACITUS, Annals, iii. f. 65.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XI.

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These transactions include two years.

Years of Rome	of Christ	Consuls
800	47	*Claudius, 4th time, Lucius Vitellius, 3d time.*
801	48	*Aulus Vitellius, L. Vipsanius.*

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BOOK XI.

I. MESSALINA was convinced that Poppæa had been for ſome time engaged in a courſe of adultery with Valerius Aſiaticus, who had enjoyed the honour of two conſulſhips. She had, beſides, an eye to the elegant gardens, formerly the pride of Lucullus, which Aſiaticus had improved in the higheſt taſte and magnificence. Bent on the deſtruction of Poppæa and her lover, ſhe ſuborned Suillius *(a)* to carry on the proſecution. Soſibius, the tutor of Britannicus, entered into the conſpiracy. This man had the ear of Claudius. In ſecret whiſpers, and under a maſk of friendſhip, he alarmed the emperor with the neceſſity of being on his guard againſt the machinations of his enemies. "Overgrown wealth," he ſaid, "in "the

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" the hands of a private citizen, is always big with danger to " the reigning prince. When Caligula fell, Aſiaticus was the " principal actor in that bloody tragedy. He owned the fact in " a full aſſembly of the people, and claimed the glory of the " deed *(b)*. That bold exploit has made him popular at Rome; " his fame is ſpread through the provinces: and, even now, he " meditates a viſit to the German armies. Born at Vienne *(c)*, " he has great family intereſt and powerful connections in Gaul. " A man thus ſupported will be able to incite his countrymen " to a revolt." The hint was enough for Claudius. Without further enquiry, he diſpatched Criſpinus, who commanded the prætorian guards, with a band of ſoldiers. Their march reſembled a body of troops going on a warlike expedition. Aſiaticus was ſeized at Baiæ, and brought to Rome in chains.

II. He was not ſuffered to appear before the ſenate. The cauſe was heard in the emperor's chamber, in the preſence of Meſſalina. Suillius ſtood forth as proſecutor. He ſtated the corruption of the army, and accuſed Aſiaticus as the author of it. By bribes, by largeſſes, and by the practice of abominable vices, the ſoldiers were ſeduced from their duty: they were prepared for any enterpriſe, however atrocious. The crime of adultery with Poppæa helped to ſwell the charge; and, to crown all, the priſoner had unmanned himſelf by his unnatural paſſions. Stung to the quick by this imputation, Aſiaticus turned to the proſecutor, " And aſk your ſons," he ſaid; " they will tell you that " I am a man." He went into his defence in ſuch a ſtrain of pathetic eloquence, that Claudius felt the ſtrongeſt emotions. Even Meſſalina dropped a tear. She left the room to wipe the guſh of nature from her eyes, but firſt charged Vitellius not to ſuffer the priſoner to eſcape. In the mean time, ſhe haſtened the deſtruction of Poppæa. She ſent her agents to alarm her

with the horrors of a jail, and drive her, by that diſmal proſpect, to an act of deſperation. Her malice was unknown to Claudius. He was ſo little in the ſecret, that, a few days afterwards, having invited Scipio as his gueſt, he aſked him, "Why his wife was "not of the party *(a)*?" Scipio made anſwer, "She is dead."

III. CLAUDIUS was, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe. He was inclined to favour Aſiaticus, but Vitellius interpoſed. With tears in his eyes, he talked of the friendſhip which had long ſubſiſted between the priſoner and himſelf; he mentioned their mutual habits at the court of Antonia, the emperor's mother; he ſtated the public merit of Aſiaticus; and, in particular, the glory of his late expedition into Britain: he omitted nothing that could excite compaſſion, but, at laſt, concluded (with a ſtroke of treachery), that to allow him to chooſe his mode of dying was an indulgence due to ſo diſtinguiſhed a character. This cruel ſpecies of clemency was adopted by Claudius. The friends of Aſiaticus recommended abſtinence, as a mode of death eaſy and gradual. He ſcorned the pretended lenity, and betook himſelf to his uſual exerciſes. He bathed and ſupped with alacrity of mind. "To "die," he ſaid, "by the intrigues of an artful woman, or the "treachery of a debauched and profligate impoſtor, ſuch as Vi-"tellius, was an ignominious cataſtrophe. He envied thoſe who "periſhed by the ſyſtematic cruelty of Tiberius, or the headlong "fury of Caligula." Having declared theſe ſentiments, he opened a vein, and bled to death. Before he gave himſelf the mortal wound, he had the fortitude to ſurvey his funeral pile. Perceiving that the flame might reach the branches of the trees, and hurt the ſhade of his garden, he ordered it to be removed to a more diſtant ſpot. Such was the tranquillity with which he encountered death.

IV. THE

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IV. The ſenate was convened. Suillius followed his blow. He preferred an accuſation againſt two Roman knights, of the name of Petra; both diſtinguiſhed by their rank and character. The crime objected to them was, that they had made their houſe convenient to Poppæa, when ſhe carried on her intrigue with Mneſter. The charge againſt one of them imported, that, in a dream, his imagination preſented to him the figure of Claudius crowned with a ſheaf of corn, but the ears inverted downward. This viſion was underſtood by the criminal as the prognoſtic of an approaching famine. Some will have it, that the wreath conſiſted of vine branches, with the leaves entirely faded; and this was deemed an omen of the emperor's death towards the end of the enſuing autumn. Whatever it might be, it is certain that it was held to be an act of treaſon. The two brothers died for a dream. By a decree of the ſenate, Criſpinus was rewarded with fifteen thouſand ſeſterces, and the prætorian dignity. On the motion of Vitellius, a vote of ten thouſand ſeſterces paſſed in favour of Soſibius, the preceptor of Britannicus, and the faithful adviſer of the emperor. In the debate on this occaſion, Scipio was called upon for his opinion: he roſe, and ſaid, "Since the conduct of my wife Poppæa muſt appear to me "in the ſame light that it does to this aſſembly, let me be "thought to concur with the general voice." A delicate ſtroke of prudence, yielding to the neceſſity of the times, yet not forgetting the ties of conjugal affection.

V. From this time, the rage of Suillius knew no bounds. A number of others followed in the ſame track, all rivals in iniquity. The conſtitution had been long ſince annihilated; the functions of the magiſtrates were wreſted out of their hands; the will of the prince was the law; and, by conſequence, the crew

crew of informers grew rich by injuſtice and oppreſſion. Their eloquence was put up to ſale, like any other commodity at market. Samius, a Roman knight of diſtinction, has left a memorable inſtance. He had retained Suillius with a fee of ten thouſand crowns; but finding that his cauſe was betrayed, he went to the houſe of the perfidious orator, and fell upon his own ſword. To check this fatal miſchief, a motion was made in the ſenate by Caius Silius, then conſul elect. Of this man, his elevation, and his downfall, due notice will be taken hereafter. He repreſented, in ſtrong colours, the avarice of the advocates. The fathers, with one voice, agreed to revive the Cincian law *(a)*, by which it was ordained in ancient times, that no advocate, for a fee, or gratuity of any kind, ſhould proſtitute his talents.

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VI. THE informers oppoſed the motion. They ſaw that the blow was aimed at themſelves. Silius grew more eager. He was at open enmity with Suillius, and, for that reaſon, preſſed the buſineſs with his utmoſt vigour. He cited the orators of ancient times, men of pure and upright principles, who conſidered honeſt fame, and the fair applauſe of poſterity, as the true reward of genius. "Eloquence," he ſaid, "the firſt of li-"beral arts, if it condeſcended to be let out for hire, was no "better than a ſordid trade. If it became mercenary, and ſold "itſelf to the higheſt bidder, no truth can be expected; inte-"grity is at an end. Take from venal oratory all its views of "intereſt, and the number of ſuitors will, of courſe, be dimi-"niſhed. In the reigning corruption of the modern forum, "private feuds, mutual accuſations, family quarrels, hatred, and "animoſity are kept alive. The practiſers live by the paſſions "of mankind, as phyſicians thrive by an epidemic diſtemper. "Call to mind Caius Aſinius, Marcus Meſſala, and, among the "names of more recent date, remember the Arruntii and the

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" Æſerini; men who never ſet themſelves up to auction; never " made a bargain and ſale of their talents, but roſe by their in- " tegrity and their unbought eloquence to the higheſt honours " of the ſtate." This ſpeech from the conſul elect was heard with general approbation. The fathers were on the point of declaring, by a decree, that all who took the wages of oratory ſhould be deemed guilty of extortion. Suillius and Coſſutianus, with many others who were conſcious of their evil practices, clearly ſaw, that if the decree paſſed the ſenate, it would be nothing leſs than a vote of pains and penalties againſt themſelves. To ward off the blow, they preſſed round the emperor, praying an indemnity for paſt tranſactions. Claudius ſeeming by a nod to aſſent to their petition, they took courage, and argued their caſe as follows:

VII. " WHERE is the orator who can flatter himſelf that his " name will reach poſterity? The intereſts of ſociety require ad- " vocates by profeſſion, men verſed in queſtions of right and " wrong, and ready, as well as able, to protect the weak againſt " the proud and affluent. But eloquence is not a gratuitous gift; " it is acquired by toil and induſtry. To conduct the affairs of " others, the orator neglects his own concerns. Life is varie- " gated with different employments: ſome betake themſelves to " the profeſſion of arms; others to the arts of huſbandry: no " man embraces a particular calling, without having beforehand " made an eſtimate of the profit. Aſinius and Meſſala have " been cited: but it was eaſy for men in their ſituation, enriched " as they were in the civil wars between Auguſtus and Anthony, " to forego all further views of emolument. It was eaſy for the " Arruntii and the Æſerini, the heirs of great and opulent fa- " milies, to act with an elevation of mind ſuperior to the profits " of the bar. And yet, we are not now to learn what prodi-

" gious

" gious ſums Publius Clodius and Caius Curio received as the " reward of their eloquence. As to ourſelves, we have not the " advantages of fortune: in a time of profound tranquillity, it is " but juſt that we ſhould be allowed to live by the arts of peace. " The caſe of men deſcended from plebeian families merits " conſideration. Without the career of eloquence, they have " no way to emerge from obſcurity. Take from men the juſt " fruit of their ſtudies, and learning will grow to ſeed." This reaſoning was far from honourable, but it had weight with Claudius. He took a middle courſe, and fixed the legal perquiſite at the ſum of ten thouſand ſeſterces. All who preſumed to tranſgreſs that line were to be deemed guilty of extortion, by law compellable to refund.

VIII. About this time Mithridates, who, as has been mentioned, ſwayed the ſceptre of Armenia, and was brought in chains to the tribunal of Caligula *(a)*, was releaſed by the direction of Claudius. He ſet out from Rome to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom, relying on the ſupport of his brother Pharaſmanes, king of Iberia. By advices from that monarch, it appeared that the Parthian ſtate was convulſed by internal diviſions, and, while the regal diadem was at ſtake, a people ſo diſtracted among themſelves would not have leiſure to engage in foreign wars. Gotarzes had ſeized the throne of Parthia, and ſpilt a deluge of blood. He had murdered his own brother Artabanus, with his wife and ſon, and by theſe, and other acts of cruelty, gave his ſubjects nothing to expect but ſlaughter and deſolation. Determined to ſhake off the yoke, the people planned a revolution in favour of Bardanes, the ſurviving brother of Gotarzes. This prince was by nature formed for enterpriſe. In two days he made a march of no leſs than three thouſand furlongs. He took Gotarzes by ſurpriſe, attacked him

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with ſudden fury, and obliged him to conſult his ſafety by flight. He puſhed on with vigour to the adjacent provinces, and all, except Seleucia *(b)*, ſubmitted without reſiſtance. The inhabitants of that city ſhut their gates. Fired with indignation againſt a people, who had offered the ſame affront to his father, Bardanes yielded to the impulſe of reſentment, inſtead of purſuing the meaſures which prudence dictated. He ſtaid to amuſe himſelf with the ſiege of a place ſtrong by nature, well fortified, amply provided with ſtores, and on one ſide defended by a rapid river *(c)*. Gotarzes, in the mean time, having obtained ſuccours from the Dahans *(d)* and Hyrcanians, returned with a powerful army to renew the war. Bardanes was compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Seleucia. He retired to the plains of Bactria, and there pitched his camp.

IX. While the eaſt was thus thrown into convulſions, and the fate of Parthia hung on the doubtful event, Mithridates ſeized the opportunity to invade the kingdom of Armenia. The Roman legions and the Iberians ſupported the enterpriſe. By the former, all the forts and places of ſtrength were levelled to the ground, and by the latter, the open country was laid waſte. The Armenians, under the conduct of Demonax, at that time governor of the country, hazarded a battle, and, being defeated, were no longer able to make a ſtand. The new ſettlement, however, was for ſome time retarded by Cotys *(a)*, king of the leſſer Armenia. A party of the nobles had declared in his favour; but, being intimidated by letters from Claudius, they abandoned their project. Mithridates mounted the throne of Armenia, with more ferocity than became a prince in the opening of a new reign. Meanwhile, the competitors for the Parthian monarchy, in the moment when they were going to try the iſſue of a deciſive action, agreed on terms of peace. A conſpiracy

had been formed againſt them both; but being detected by Gotarzes, the two brothers came to an interview. The meeting was at firſt conducted with reſerve on both ſides. After balancing for ſome time, they embraced; and, taking each other by the hand, bound themſelves by an oath before the altar of the gods, to join with their united force, in order to puniſh the treachery of their enemies, and, on equitable terms, to compromiſe the war. The people declared for Bardanes. Gotarzes, accordingly, reſigned his pretenſions; and, to remove all cauſe of jealouſy, withdrew to the remoteſt parts of Hyrcania. Bardanes returned in triumph; and Seleucia threw open her gates, after having, during a ſiege of ſeven years, ſtood at bay with the whole power of the Parthian monarchy, to the diſgrace of a people, who, in ſuch a length of time, were unable to reduce that city to ſubjection.

X. BARDANES, without delay, made himſelf maſter of the moſt important provinces. He intended to invade Armenia; but Vibius Marſus, the governor of Syria, threatening to repel him by force, he abandoned the project. Meanwhile, Gotarzes had leiſure to repent of his abdication. The Parthian nobility, who in peaceful times are always impatient of the yoke of ſlavery, invited him to return. Rouſed by the call of the people, he ſoon collected a powerful army. Bardanes marched to meet him as far as the banks of the Erinde *(a)*. The paſſage over the river was warmly diſputed. After many ſharp engagements, Bardanes prevailed. He puſhed his conqueſt with uninterrupted ſucceſs as far as the river Sinden, which flows between the Dahi and the territory of the Arians. His career of victory ended at that place. Though flushed with the ſucceſs of their arms, the Parthians diſliked a war in regions ſo far remote. To mark, however, the progreſs of the victorious troops, and to perpetuate

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perpetuate the glory of having put under contribution ſo many diſtant nations, where the Arſacides had never penetrated, Bardanes raiſed a monument on the ſpot, and marched back to Parthia, proud of his exploits, more oppreſſive than ever, and, by conſequence, more deteſted. A conſpiracy was formed to cut him off; and accordingly, while the king on a hunting party, void of all ſuſpicion, purſued the pleaſures of the chaſe, his enemies fell upon him with ſudden fury. Bardanes, in the prime and vigour of his days, expired under repeated blows. The glory of his reign, however ſhort, would have eclipſed the few of his predeceſſors who enjoyed a length of days, if to gain the hearts of his people had been as much his ambition, as it was to render himſelf the terror of his enemies. By his death the kingdom was once more thrown into commotions. The choice of a ſucceſſor divided the whole nation into factions. A large party adhered to Gotarzes; others declared for Meherdetes, a deſcendant of Phraates, at that time a hoſtage in the hands of the Romans. The intereſt of Gotarzes proved the ſtrongeſt; but the people, in a ſhort time, weary of his cruelty and wild profuſion, ſent a private embaſſy to Rome, requeſting that the emperor would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſend Meherdetes to fill the throne of his anceſtors.

XI. DURING the ſame conſulſhip, in the year of Rome eight hundred, the ſecular games were celebrated, after an interval of ſixty-four years ſince they were laſt ſolemnized in the reign of Auguſtus. The chronology obſerved by Auguſtus differed from the ſyſtem of Claudius: but this is not the place for a diſcuſſion of that point. I have been ſufficiently explicit on the ſubject in the hiſtory of Domitian *(a)*, who likewiſe gave an exhibition of the ſecular games. Being at that time one of the college of fifteen, and inveſted with the office of prætor, it fell to my province

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vince to regulate the ceremonies. Let it not be imagined that this is ſaid from motives of vanity. The fact is, in ancient times the buſineſs was conducted under the ſpecial directions of the quindecemviral order, while the chief magiſtrates officiated in the ſeveral ceremonies. Claudius thought proper to revive this public ſpectacle. He attended in the circus, and, in his preſence, the Trojan game *(b)* was performed by the youth of noble birth. Britannicus, the emperor's ſon, and Lucius Domitius, who by adoption took the name of Nero, and afterwards ſucceeded to the empire, appeared, with the reſt of the band, mounted on ſuperb horſes. Nero was received with acclamations, and that mark of popular favour was conſidered as an omen of his future grandeur. A ſtory, at that time current, gained credit with the populace. Nero in his infancy was ſaid to have been guarded by two ſerpents *(c)*; but this idle tale held too much of that love of the marvellous which diſtinguiſhes foreign nations. The account given by the prince himſelf, who was ever unwilling to derogate from his own fame, differed from the common report. He talked of the prodigy, but graced his narrative with one ſerpent only.

XII. The prejudice in favour of Nero roſe altogether from the eſteem in which the memory of Germanicus was held by the people at large. The only male heir of that admired commander was naturally an object of attention; and the ſufferings of his mother Agrippina touched every heart with compaſſion. Meſſalina, it was well known, purſued her with unrelenting malice: ſhe was, even then, planning her ruin. Her ſuborned accuſers ſoon framed a liſt of crimes; but the execution of her ſchemes was, for a time, ſuſpended. A new amour, little ſhort of phrenſy, claimed precedence of all other paſſions. Caius Silius *(a)* was the perſon for whom ſhe burned with all the

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vehemence of wild deſire. The graces of his form and manner eclipſed all the Roman youth. That ſhe might enjoy her favourite without a rival, ſhe obliged him to repudiate his wife, Junia Silana, though deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors. Silius was neither blind to the magnitude of the crime, nor to the danger of not complying. If he refuſed, a woman ſcorned would be ſure to gratify her revenge; and, on the other hand, there was a chance of deceiving the ſtupidity of Claudius. The rewards in view were bright and tempting. He reſolved to ſtand the hazard of future conſequences, and enjoy the preſent moment. Meſſalina gave a looſe to love. She ſcorned to ſave appearances. She repeated her viſits, not in a private manner, but with all her train. In public places ſhe hung enamoured over him; ſhe loaded him with wealth and honours; and at length, as if the imperial dignity had been already transferred to another houſe, the retinue of the prince, his ſlaves, his freedmen, and the whole ſplendour of the court, adorned the manſion of her favourite.

XIII. CLAUDIUS, in the mean time, blind to the conduct of his wife, and little ſuſpecting that his bed was diſhonoured, gave all his time to the duties of his cenſorial office. He iſſued an edict to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the theatre. A dramatic performance had been given to the ſtage by Publius Pomponius *(a)*, a man of conſular rank. On that occaſion the author, and ſeveral women of the firſt condition, were treated by the populace with inſolence and vile ſcurrility. This behaviour called for the interpoſition of the prince. To check the rapacity of uſurers, a law was alſo paſſed, prohibiting the loan of money to young heirs, on the contingency of their father's death. The waters, which have their ſource on the Simbruine hills *(b)*, were conveyed in aqueducts to Rome. Claudius, at the ſame time, invented the form of new letters, and added them to the Roman alpha-

alphabet, aware that the language of Greece, in its original ſtate, could not boaſt of perfection, but received, at different periods, a variety of improvements.

XIV. The Ægyptians were the firſt, who had the ingenuity to expreſs by outward ſigns the ideas paſſing in the mind. Under the form of animals they gave a body and a figure to ſentiment. Their hieroglyphics were wrought in ſtone, and are to be ſeen at this day, the moſt venerable monuments of human memory. The invention of letters *(a)* is alſo claimed by the Ægyptians. According to their account, the Phœnicians found legible characters in uſe throughout Ægypt, and, being much employed in navigation, carried them into Greece; importers of the art, but not intitled to the glory of the invention. The hiſtory of the matter, as related by the Phœnicians, is, that Cadmus, with a fleet from their country, paſſed into Greece, and taught the art of writing to a rude and barbarous people. We are told by others, that Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus the Theban, or Palamedes the Argive, who flouriſhed during the Trojan war, invented ſixteen letters *(b)*: the honour of adding to the number, and making a complete alphabet, is aſcribed to different authors, and, in particular, to Simonides. In Italy, Demaratus of Corinth, and Evander the Arcadian, introduced the arts of civilization: the former taught the Etrurians, and the latter, the aborigines, or natives of the country where he ſettled. The form of the Latin letters was the ſame as the characters of the ancient Greeks: but the Roman alphabet, like that of all other nations, was ſcanty in the beginning. In proceſs of time, the original elements were increaſed. Claudius added three new letters, which, during the remainder of his reign, were frequently inſerted, but after his death fell into diſuſe. In tables of braſs, on which were engraved the ordinances of the people, and which remain to this day,

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hung up in the temples, and the forum, the ſhape of the three characters may ſtill be traced.

XV. To regulate the college of augurs was the next care of Claudius. He referred the buſineſs to the conſideration of the ſenate, obſerving to that aſſembly, "That an ancient and venerable inſtitution ought not to be ſuffered, for want of due attention, to ſink into oblivion. In times of danger, the commonwealth reſorted to the ſoothſayers, and that order of men reſtored the primitive ceremonies of religion. By the nobility of Etruria the ſcience of future events was eſteemed, and cultivated. The authority of the ſenate gave additional ſanctions, and thoſe myſteries have ever ſince remained in certain families, tranſmitted from father to ſon. In the preſent decay of all liberal ſcience, and the growth of foreign ſuperſtition, the ſacred myſteries are neglected, and, indeed, almoſt extinguiſhed. The empire, it is true, enjoys a ſtate of perfect tranquillity; but, ſurely, for that bleſſing, the people ſhould bend in adoration to the gods, not forgetting, in the calm ſeaſon of peace, thoſe religious rites, which ſaved them in the hour of danger." A decree paſſed the ſenate, directing that the pontiffs ſhould reviſe the whole ſyſtem, and retrench or ratify what to them ſhould ſeem proper.

XVI. In the courſe of this year, the Cheruſcans applied to Rome for a king to reign over them. They had been diſtracted by civil diſſenſions, and in the wars that followed, the flower of their nobility was cut off. Of royal deſcent there was only one ſurviving chief, by name Italicus, and he at that time reſided at Rome. He was the ſon of Flavius, the brother of Arminius; by the maternal line, grandſon to Catumer, the reigning king of the Cattians. He was comely in his perſon, expert in the uſe

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uſe of arms, and ſkilled in horſemanſhip, as well after the Roman manner, as the practice of the Germans. Claudius ſupplied him with money; appointed guards to eſcort him; and, by ſeaſonable admonitions, endeavoured to inſpire him with ſentiments worthy of the elevation to which he was called. He deſired him to go forth with courage, and aſcend the throne of his anceſtors with becoming dignity. He told him, that being born at Rome, and there entertained in freedom, not kept as a priſoner, he was the firſt, who went clothed with the character of a Roman citizen, to reign in Germany. The prince was received by his countrymen with demonſtrations of joy. A ſtranger to the diſſenſions, which had for ſome time diſturbed the public tranquillity, he had no party views to warp his conduct. The king of a people, not of a faction, he gained the eſteem of all. His praiſe reſounded in every quarter. By exerciſing the milder qualities of temperance and affability, and, at times, giving himſelf up to wine and gay carouſals, which among Barbarians are eſteemed national virtues, he endeared himſelf to all ranks of men. His fame reached the neighbouring ſtates, and by degrees ſpread all over Germany.

His popularity, however, gave umbrage to the diſaffected. The ſame turbulent ſpirits, who had before thrown every thing into confuſion, and flouriſhed in the diſtractions of their country, began to view the new king with a jealous eye. They repreſented to the adjacent nations, that "the rights of Germany, "tranſmitted to them by their forefathers, were now at the laſt "gaſp. The grandeur of the Roman empire riſes on the ruins "of public liberty. But is the Cheruſcan nation at ſo low an "ebb, that a native, worthy of the ſupreme authority, cannot "be found amongſt them? Is there no reſource left, but that of "electing the ſon of Flavius, that ignominious ſpy, that traitor

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" to his country? It is in vain alleged in favour of Italicus, that " he is nephew to Arminius. Were he the ſon of that gallant " warrior, yet foſtered, as he has been, in the arms, and in the " boſom of Rome, he is, by that circumſtance, unqualified to " reign in Germany. From a young man, educated among our " enemies, debaſed by ſervitude, and infected with foreign man- " ners, foreign laws, and foreign ſentiments, what have we to " expect? And if this Roman king, this Italicus, inherits the " ſpirit of his father; let it be remembered, that Flavius took the " field againſt his kindred and the gods of Germany. In the " whole courſe of that war, no man ſhewed a ſpirit ſo deter- " mined; no man acted with ſuch envenomed hoſtility againſt " the liberties of his country."

XVII. By theſe, and ſuch like incentives, the malecontents inflamed the minds of the people, and ſoon collected a numerous army. An equal number followed the ſtandard of Italicus. " Their " motives," they ſaid, " were juſt and honourable: the young king " did not come to uſurp the crown; he was invited by the voice " of a willing people. His birth was illuſtrious, and it was but " fair, to make an experiment of his virtues. He might, per- " haps, prove worthy of Arminius, his uncle, and of Catumer, " his grandfather. Even for his father *(a)*, the ſon had no rea- " ſon to bluſh. If Flavius adhered with fidelity to the cauſe of " Rome, he had bound himſelf by the obligation of an oath; and " that oath was taken with the conſent of the German nations. " The ſacred name of liberty was uſed in vain to varniſh the guilt " of pretended patriots; a ſet of men, in their private characters, " void of honour; in their public conduct, deſtructive to the " community; an unprincipled and profligate party, who, by " fair and honeſt means having nothing to hope, looked for their " private advantage in the diſaſters of their country." To this reaſoning

reaſoning the multitude aſſented with ſhouts of applauſe. The Barbarians came to action. After an obſtinate engagement, victory declared for Italicus. Elate with ſucceſs, he broke out into acts of cruelty, and was ſoon obliged to fly the country. The Langobards *(b)* reinſtated him in his dominions. From that time, Italicus continued to ſtruggle with alternate viciſſitudes of fortune, in ſucceſs no leſs than adverſity, the ſcourge of the Cheruſcan nation.

XVIII. The Chaucians *(a)*, at this time free from domeſtic broils, began to turn their arms againſt their neighbours. The death of Sanquinius, who commanded the legions in the lower Germany, furniſhed them with an opportunity to invade the Roman provinces; and as Corbulo, who was appointed to ſucceed the deceaſed general, was ſtill on his way, they reſolved to ſtrike their blow before his arrival. Gannaſcus, born among the Caninefates, headed the enterpriſe; a bold adventurer, who had formerly ſerved among the auxiliaries in the Roman army. Having deſerted afterwards, he provided himſelf with light-built ſhallops, and followed the life of a roving freebooter, infeſting chiefly the Gallic ſide of the Rhine *(b)*, where he knew the wealth and the unwarlike genius of the people. Corbulo entered the province. In his firſt campaign he laid the foundation of that prodigious fame, which afterwards raiſed his character to the higheſt eminence. He ordered the ſtrongeſt galleys to fall down the Rhine, and the ſmall craft, according to their ſize and fitneſs for the ſervice, to enter the æſtuaries and the receſſes of the river. The boats and veſſels of the enemy were ſunk or otherwiſe deſtroyed. Gannaſcus was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight.

By theſe operations Corbulo reſtored tranquillity throughout the province. The re-eſtabliſhment of military diſcipline was the

next

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next object of his attention. He found the legions relaxed in ſloth, attentive to plunder, and active for no other end. In order to make a thorough reform, he gave out in orders, that no man ſhould preſume to quit his poſt, or venture to attack the enemy, on any pretence, without the command of his ſuperior officer. The ſoldiers at the advanced ſtations, the ſentinels, and the whole army, performed every duty, both day and night, completely armed. Two of the men, it is ſaid, were put to death, as an example to the reſt; one, becauſe he laboured at the trenches without his ſword; and the other, for being armed with a dagger only; a ſeverity, it muſt be acknowledged, ſtrained too far, or, perhaps, not true in fact: but the rigid ſyſtem, peculiar to Corbulo, might, with ſome colour of probability, give riſe to the report. It may, however, be fairly inferred, that the commander, concerning whom a ſtory like this could gain credit, was, in matters of moment, firm, decided, and inflexible.

XIX. By this plan of diſcipline, Corbulo ſtruck a general terror through the army: but that terror had a twofold effect; it rouſed the Romans to a due ſenſe of their duty, and repreſſed the ferocity of the Barbarians. The Friſians *(a)*, who, ever ſince their ſucceſs againſt Lucius Apronius, remained in open or diſguiſed hoſtility, thought it adviſable, after giving hoſtages for their pacific temper, to accept a territory within the limits preſcribed by Corbulo, and to ſubmit to a mode of government, which he judged proper, conſiſting of an aſſembly in the nature of a ſenate, a body of magiſtrates, and a new code of laws. In order to bridle this people effectually, he built a fort in the heart of their country, and left it ſtrongly garriſoned. In the mean time, he tried, by his emiſſaries, to draw over to his intereſt the leading chiefs of the Chaucian nation. Againſt Gannaſcus he did not ſcruple to act by ſtratagem. In the caſe of a deſerter, who

had violated all good faith, fraud and circumvention did not appear to him inconſiſtent with the dignity of the Roman name. Gannaſcus was cut off. His death inflamed the reſentment of the Chaucians; nor was Corbulo unwilling to provoke a war. His conduct, however, though applauded at Rome by a great number, did not eſcape the cenſure of others. "Why enrage "the enemy? If he failed in his attempt, the commonwealth "muſt feel the calamity: if crowned with ſucceſs, a general of "high renown, under a torpid and unwarlike prince, might "prove a powerful and a dangerous citizen." Claudius had no ambition to extend his dominions in Germany. He ordered the garriſons to be withdrawn, and the whole army to repaſs the Rhine.

XX. CORBULO had already marked out his camp in the enemy's country, when the emperor's letters came to hand. The contents were unexpected. A crowd of reflections occurred to the general: he dreaded the diſpleaſure of the prince; he ſaw the legions expoſed to the deriſion of the Barbarians, and in the opinion of the allies his own character degraded. He exclaimed with ſome emotion, "*Happy the commanders, who fought for the* "*old republic!*" Without a word more, he ſounded a retreat. And now, to hinder his men from falling again into ſluggiſh inactivity, he ordered a canal, three-and-twenty miles in length, to be carried on between the Meuſe and the Rhine, as a channel to receive the influx of the ſea, and hinder the country from being laid under water. Claudius, in the mean time, allowed him the honour of triumphal ornaments: he granted the reward of military ſervice, but prevented the merit of deſerving it.

In a ſhort time afterwards, Curtius Rufus obtained the ſame diſtinction: the ſervice of this man was the diſcovery of a mine

in

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in the country of the Mattiaci *(a)*, in which was opened a vein of ſilver, of little profit, and ſoon exhauſted. The labour was ſeverely felt by the legions; they were obliged to dig a number of fluices, and in ſubterraneous cavities to endure fatigues and hardſhips, ſcarce ſupportable in the open air. Weary of the labour, and finding that the ſame rigorous ſervices were extended to other provinces, they contrived, with ſecrecy, to diſpatch letters to the emperor, praying, that, when next he appointed a general, he would begin with granting him triumphal honours.

XXI. CURTIUS RUFUS *(a)*, according to ſome, was the ſon of a gladiator. For this I do not pretend to vouch. To ſpeak of him with malignity is far from my intention, and to relate the truth is painful. He began the world in the train of a quæſtor, whom he attended into Africa. In that ſtation, while, to avoid the intenſe heat of the mid-day ſun, he was ſitting under a portico in the city of Adrumetum *(b)*, the form of a woman, large beyond the proportions of the human ſhape *(c)*, appeared before him. A voice, at the ſame time, pronounced, "You, "Rufus, are the favoured man, deſtined to come hereafter into "this province with proconſular authority." Inſpired by the viſion, he ſet out for Rome, where, by the intereſt of his friends, and his own intriguing genius, he firſt obtained the quæſtorſhip. In a ſhort time after, he aſpired to the dignity of prætor; and, though oppoſed by competitors of diſtinguiſhed rank, he ſucceeded by the ſuffrage of Tiberius. That emperor, to throw a veil over the mean extraction of his favourite candidate, ſhrewdly ſaid, "*Curtius Rufus ſeems to be a man ſprung from himſelf.*" He lived to an advanced old age, growing grey in the baſe arts of ſervile adulation, to his ſuperiors a fawning ſycophant, to all beneath him proud and arrogant, and with his equals, ſurly, rude, and impracticable. At a late period of his life, he obtained the

conſular

conſular and triumphal ornaments, and finally, to verify the prediction, went proconſul into Africa, where he finiſhed his days.

XXII. About this time Cneius Novius, a man of equeſtrian rank, was ſeized in the circle at the emperor's court, with a dagger concealed under his robe: his motives were unknown at the time, and never ſince diſcovered. When he lay ſtretched on the rack, he avowed his own deſperate purpoſe, but, touching his accomplices, not a ſyllable could be extorted from him. Whether his ſilence was wilful obſtinacy, or proceeded from his having no ſecret to diſcover, remains uncertain. During the ſame conſulſhip, Publius Dolabella propoſed a new regulation, requiring that a public ſpectacle of gladiators ſhould be exhibited annually, at the expence of ſuch as obtained the office of quæſtor. In the early ages of the commonwealth, that magiſtracy was conſidered as the reward of virtue. The honours of the ſtate lay open to every citizen who relied on his fair endeavours, and the integrity of his character. The difference of age *(a)* created no incapacity. Men, in the prime of life, might be choſen conſuls and dictators. The office of quæſtor was inſtituted during the monarchy, as appears from the law Curiata *(b)*, which was afterwards put in force by Lucius Junius Brutus. The right of election was veſted in the conſuls, till, at laſt, it centred in the people at large; and, accordingly, we find that about ſixty-three years after the expulſion of the Tarquins, Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamercus were the firſt popular quæſtors, created to attend the armies of the republic. The multiplicity of affairs increaſing at Rome, two were added to act in a civil capacity. In proceſs of time, when all Italy was reduced to ſubjection, and foreign provinces augmented the public revenue, the number of quæſtors was doubled.

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Sylla created twenty: he had transferred all judicial authority to the ſenate; and to fill that order with its proper complement was the object of his policy. The Roman knights, it is true, recovered their ancient juriſdiction; but even during thoſe convulſions, and from that æra to the time we are ſpeaking of, the quæſtorſhip was either obtained by the merit and dignity of the candidates, or granted by the favour and free will of the people. It was reſerved for Dolabella to make the election venal.

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XXIII. AULUS VITELLIUS and Lucius Vipſanius were the next conſuls. The mode of filling the vacancies in the ſenate became the ſubject of debate. The nobility of that part of Gaul ſtyled GALLIA COMATA *(a)* had for ſome time enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizens: on this occaſion they claimed a right to the magiſtracy and all civil honours. The demand became the topic of public diſcuſſion, and in the prince's cabinet met with a ſtrong oppoſition. It was there contended, "That "Italy was not ſo barren of men, but ſhe could well ſupply the "capital with fit and able ſenators. In former times, the mu- "nicipal towns and provinces were content to be governed by "their own native citizens. That ſyſtem was long eſtabliſhed, "and there was no reaſon to condemn the practice of the old "republic. The hiſtory of that period preſents a ſchool of "virtue. It is there that the models of true glory are to be "found; thoſe models that formed the Roman genius, and ſtill "excite the emulation of poſterity. Is it not enough that the "Venetians and Inſubrians *(b)* have forced their way into the "ſenate? Are we to ſee a deluge of foreigners poured in upon "us, as if the city were taken by ſtorm? What honours and "what titles of diſtinction will, in that caſe, remain for the an- "cient nobility, the true genuine ſtock of the Roman empire? "And for the indigent ſenator of Latium what means will then "be

" be left to advance his fortune, and ſupport his rank? All poſts
" of honour will be the property of wealthy intruders; a race
" of men, whoſe anceſtors waged war againſt the very being of
" the republic; with fire and ſword deſtroyed her armies; and
" finally laid ſiege to Julius Cæſar in the city of Aleſia *(c)*.
" But theſe are modern inſtances: what ſhall be ſaid of the
" Barbarians, who laid the walls of Rome in aſhes, and dared to
" beſiege the capitol and the temple of Jupiter? Let the preſent
" claimants, if it muſt be ſo, enjoy the titular dignity of Roman
" citizens: but let the ſenatorian rank, and the honours of the
" magiſtracy, be preſerved, unmixed, untainted, and inviolate."

XXIV. THESE arguments made no impreſſion on the mind of Claudius: he replied on the ſpot, and afterwards in the ſenate delivered himſelf to this effect *(a)*: " To decide the queſtion
" now depending, the annals of Rome afford a precedent;
" and a precedent of greater cogency, as it happened to the
" anceſtors of my own family. Attus Clauſus, by birth a Sabine,
" from whom I derive my pedigree, was admitted, on one and
" the ſame day, to the freedom of Rome, and the patrician rank.
" Can I do better than adopt that rule of ancient wiſdom? It is
" for the intereſt of the commonwealth, that merit, wherever
" found, ſhould be tranſplanted to Rome, and made our own.
" Need I obſerve that to Alba we are indebted for the Julii, to
" Camerium for the Corruncani, and to Tuſculum for the
" Portii? Without ſearching the records of antiquity, we know
" that the nobles of Etruria, of Lucania, and, in ſhort, of all
" Italy, have been incorporated with the Roman ſenate. The
" Alps, in the courſe of time, were made the boundaries of the
" city: and by that extenſion of our privileges, not ſimple indi-
" viduals, but whole nations were naturalized at once, and
" blended with the Roman name. In a period of profound

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" peace, the people beyond the Po were admitted to their free-
" dom. Under colour of planting colonies, we ſpread our le-
" gions over the face of the globe; and, by drawing into our
" civil union the flower of the ſeveral provinces, we recruited
" the ſtrength of the mother country. The Balbi came from
" Spain, and others of equal eminence from the Narbon Gaul:
" of that acceſſion to our numbers have we reaſon to repent?
" The deſcendants of thoſe illuſtrious families are ſtill in being:
" and can Rome boaſt of better citizens? Where do we ſee more
" generous ardour to promote her intereſt?

" The Spartans and the Athenians, without all queſtion, ac-
" quired great renown in arms: to what ſhall we attribute their
" decline and total ruin? To what, but the injudicious policy of
" conſidering the vanquiſhed as aliens to their country? The
" conduct of Romulus, the founder of Rome, was the very re-
" verſe: with wiſdom equal to his valour, he made thoſe fellow
" citizens at night, who, in the morning, were his enemies in
" the field. Even foreign kings have reigned at Rome. To
" raiſe the deſcendants of freedmen to the honours of the ſtate,
" is not, as ſome imagine, a modern innovation: it was the
" practice of the old republic. But the Senones waged war
" againſt us: and were the Volſcians and the Æqui always our
" friends? The Gauls, we are told, well nigh overturned the
" capitol: and did not the Tuſcans oblige us to deliver hoſtages?
" Did not the Samnites compel a Roman army to paſs under
" the yoke *(b)*? Review the wars that Rome had upon her hands,
" and that with the Gauls will be found the ſhorteſt. From
" that time, a laſting and an honourable peace prevailed. Let
" them now, intermixed with the Roman people, united by ties
" of affinity, by arts, and congenial manners, be one people
" with us. Let them bring their wealth to Rome, rather than
" hoard

" hoard it up for their own ſeparate uſe. The inſtitutions of " our anceſtors, which we ſo much and ſo juſtly revere at pre- " ſent, were, at one time, a novelty in the conſtitution. The " magiſtrates were, at firſt, patricians only; the plebeians " opened their way to honours; and the Latins, in a ſhort " time, followed their example. In good time we embraced all " Italy. The meaſure which I now defend by examples will, " at a future day, be another precedent. It is now a new re- " gulation: in time it will be hiſtory."

XXV. THIS ſpeech was followed by a decree, in conſequence of which the Æduans, by way of diſtinction, were, in the firſt inſtance, declared capable of a ſeat in the ſenate. Of all the Gauls, they alone were ſtyled the brethren of the Roman people, and by their ſtrict fidelity deſerved the honour conferred upon them. About the ſame time, Claudius enrolled in the patrician order ſuch of the ancient ſenators as ſtood recommended by their illuſtrious birth, and the merit of their anceſtors. The line of thoſe families, which were ſtyled by Romulus the FIRST CLASS OF NOBILITY, and by Brutus THE SECOND, was almoſt extinct. Even thoſe of more recent date, created in the time of Julius Cæſar by the CASSIAN LAW, and, under Auguſtus, by the SENIAN *(a)*, were well nigh exhauſted. This new diſtribution of honours was agreeable to the people, and this part of his cenſorial office Claudius performed with alacrity. A more difficult buſineſs ſtill remained. Some of the ſenators had brought diſhonour on their names; and to expel them, according to the ſeverity of ancient uſage, was a painful taſk. He choſe a milder method. " Let each man," he ſaid, " review " his own life and manners; and, if he ſees reaſon, let him " apply for leave to eraſe his name. Permiſſion will of courſe " be granted. The liſt which he intended to make would " contain,

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" contain, without diſtinction, thoſe who retired of their own " motion, and alſo ſuch as deſerved to be expelled. By that " method, the diſgrace of being degraded would be avoided, or, " at leaſt, alleviated."

For theſe ſeveral acts, Vipſanius the conſul moved that the emperor ſhould be ſtyled THE FATHER OF THE SENATE. The title, he ſaid, of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY would be no more than common; but peculiar merit required a new diſtinction. This ſtroke of flattery gave diſguſt to Claudius. He therefore over-ruled the motion. He then cloſed the luſtre of five years, and made a ſurvey of the people. The number of citizens amounted nearly to ſix millions *(b)*. From this time the emperor no longer remained in ſtupid inſenſibility, blind to the conduct of his wife. He was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of hearing and puniſhing the enormity of her guilt: but the act by which he vindicated his own honour, gave him an opportunity to fully it by an inceſtuous marriage.

XXVI. MESSALINA had hitherto found ſo ready a compliance with her vicious paſſions, that the cheap delight was grown inſipid. To give a zeſt to pleaſure, ſhe had recourſe to modes of gratification untried before. Silius, at the ſame time, intoxicated with ſucceſs, or, perhaps, thinking that the magnitude of his danger was to be encountered with equal courage, made a propoſal altogether new and daring. "They were not," he ſaid, " in a ſituation to wait, with patience, for the death of " the prince. Prudence and cautious meaſures were for the in- " nocent only. In caſes of flagrant guilt, a bold effort of cou- " rage was the only remedy. If they undertook with ſpirit, " their accomplices, appriſed of their ſituation, would be ready " to hazard all that was dear to them. As to himſelf, he was

" divorced

" divorced from his wife; he was a ſingle man; he had no " children; he was willing to marry Meſſalina, and adopt Bri- " tannicus for his ſon. After the nuptial ceremony, the power " which Meſſalina then enjoyed would ſtill continue in her " hands, unimpaired, and undiminiſhed. To inſure their mu- " tual ſafety, nothing remained but to circumvent a ſuperan- " nuated emperor, when unprovoked, ſtupid; but when rouſed " from his lethargy, ſudden, furious, and vindictive." The propoſition was not reliſhed by Meſſalina. Motives of conjugal affection had no influence on her conduct; but ſhe beheld her lover with a jealous eye. Raiſed to imperial dignity, he might deſpiſe an adultereſs, and their guilty joys. Their mutual pleaſures, endeared at preſent by the magnitude of the crime and the danger, might, in the day of ſecurity, appear in their native colours, and pall the fated appetite. The marriage, notwithſtanding, had charms that pleaſed her fancy. It was a further ſtep in guilt and infamy; and infamy, when beyond all meaſure great, is the laſt incentive of an abandoned mind. She cloſed with the offer made by Silius, but deferred the carrying of it into execution, till the emperor went to Oſtia to aſſiſt at a ſacrifice. During his abſence, the nuptial ceremony was performed with pomp, and all the accuſtomed rites.

XXVII. The fact which I have ſtated, it muſt be acknowledged, carries with it an air of fable. That ſuch a degree of ſelf-deluſion, in a populous city where every thing is known and diſcuſſed in public, ſhould infatuate the mind of any perſon whatever, will hardly gain credit with poſterity. Much leſs will it be believed, that a conſul elect, and the wife of an emperor, on a day appointed, in the preſence of witneſſes duly ſummoned, ſhould dare to meet the public eye, and ſign a contract with expreſs proviſions for the iſſue of an unlawful mar-

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riage. It will be a circumſtance ſtill more incredible, that the empreſs ſhould hear the marriage ceremony pronounced by the augur, and, in her turn, repeat the words; that ſhe ſhould join in a ſacrifice to the gods; take her place at the nuptial banquet; exchange careſſes and mutual endearments with the bridegroom, and retire with him to the conſummation of connubial joys. The whole muſt appear romantic; but to amuſe with fiction is not the deſign of this work. The facts here related are well atteſted by writers of that period, and by grave and elderly men, who lived at the time, and were informed of every circumſtance.

XXVIII. The prince's family was thrown into conſternation. The favourites who ſtood high in power were alarmed for themſelves. Full of apprehenſions, and dreading a ſudden change, they diſcloſed their minds, not in ſecret murmurs, but openly, and in terms of indignation. "While a ſtage-player *(a)* en-"joyed the embraces of Meſſalina, the emperor's bed was diſ-"honoured, but the ſtate was not in danger. At preſent, what "had they not to fear from a young man of the firſt nobility, "endowed with talents and with vigour of mind, in his perſon "graceful, and, at that very time, deſigned for the conſulſhip? "Silius was preparing to open a new ſcene. The ſolemn farce "of a marriage has been performed, and the cataſtrophe, with "which they intend to conclude the piece, may be eaſily fore-"ſeen." Their fears were ſtill increaſed, when they conſidered the ſtupidity of Claudius, and the aſcendant which the empreſs had obtained over him, to ſuch a degree, that the beſt blood in Rome had been ſpilt to gratify her inſatiate vengeance. On the other hand, the imbecility of Claudius gave them hopes of ſucceſs. If they could once impreſs that torpid mind with an idea of Meſſalina's wickedneſs, ſhe might be condemned unheard,

heard, and, by the ſudden violence of the emperor, hurried away to execution. The only danger was, that ſhe might gain an audience. Her defence might ſatisfy the emperor; and, even if ſhe confeſſed her guilt, he might remain deaf to the truth, inſenſible of diſgrace, weak, ſtupid, and uxorious.

XXIX. CALLISTUS *(a)*, who, as already mentioned, was a principal actor in the cataſtrophe of Caligula, held a meeting with Narciſſus, the chief adviſer of the murder of Appius, and with Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius. Their firſt idea was, to addreſs themſelves at once to Meſſalina, and, without alluding to her other enormous practices, endeavour to break the connection between her and Silius. This plan was ſoon deſerted. The danger of provoking the haughty ſpirit of Meſſalina operated on the fears of Pallas. Calliſtus knew his own intereſt too well: a politician formed by the maxims of the preceding reign, he was not then to learn that power at court is preſerved by tame compliance, not by honeſt counſels. Narciſſus was left to act from his own judgment. To ruin Meſſalina was his fixed reſolution; but the blow, he knew, muſt be ſtruck before ſhe could ſee the hand that aimed it. He laid his train with the deepeſt ſecrecy. Claudius continued loitering away the time at Oſtia. Calliſtus employed the interval to the beſt advantage. He engaged in his plot two famous courteſans, at that time high in favour with the emperor. He allured them by preſents and liberal promiſes. He convinced them both, that by the ruin of Meſſalina they might riſe to power and influence. He repreſented their intereſt in the ſtrongeſt colours, and, by thoſe incentives, induced them to prefer an accuſation againſt the empreſs.

XXX. THE plot being ſettled, one of the concubines (by

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name Calpurnia) obtained a private interview with Claudius. Throwing herſelf at the emperor's feet, ſhe told him that Meſſalina had diſhonoured him by a marriage with Silius. Cleopatra, the other actreſs in the ſcene, was near at hand to confirm the ſtory. Being aſked by the accuſer whether ſhe did not know the truth of the charge, her teſtimony confirmed the whole. Narciſſus was immediately ſummoned to the emperor's preſence. He began with an humble apology for the remiſſneſs of his conduct. "He had been ſilent as to Vectius and Plautius, whoſe criminal intrigues were too well known. Even in that very moment it was not his intention to urge the crime of adultery; nor would he deſire reſtitution of the palace, the houſehold train, and the ſplendours of the imperial houſe. Let Silius enjoy them all; but let him reſtore the emperor's wife, and give up his marriage contract to be declared null and void. You are divorced, Cæſar, at this moment divorced, and are you ignorant of it? The people ſaw the marriage ceremony, the ſenate beheld it, and the ſoldiers know it. Act with vigour; take a deciſive ſtep, or the adulterer is maſter of Rome."

XXXI. Claudius called a council of his friends. Turranius, the ſuperintendant of the public ſtores, and Luſius Geta, the commander of the prætorian bands, acknowledged the whole of her flagitious conduct. The reſt of the courtiers crowded round the prince, with importunity urging him to go forth to the camp, and ſecure the prætorian guards. His own perſonal ſafety was the firſt conſideration. Vindictive meaſures might follow in good time. The alarm was too much for the faculties of ſo weak a man as Claudius. He ſtood in ſtupid amazement. He aſked ſeveral times, Am I emperor? Is Silius ſtill a private man?

Meſſalina,

Meſſalina, in the mean time, paſſed the hours in gay feſtivity, all on the wing of pleaſure and enjoyment. It was then the latter end of autumn: in honour of the ſeaſon, an interlude, repreſenting the vintage, was exhibited by her order at the palace. The wine-preſſes were ſet to work; the juice preſſed from the grape flowed in copious ſtreams, and round the vats a band of women, dreſſed after the Bacchanalian faſhion, with the ſkins of tigers, danced in frolic meaſures, with the wild tranſport uſual at the rites of Bacchus. In the midſt of the revellers Meſſalina diſplayed the graces of her perſon, her hair flowing with artful negligence, and a thyrſus waving in her hand. Silius fluttered at her ſide; his temples crowned with wreaths of ivy, his legs adorned with buſkins, and his head, with languiſhing airs, moving in uniſon with the muſic, while a chorus circled round the happy pair, with dance, and ſong, and laſcivious geſture animating the ſcene. There is a current tradition, that Vectius Valens in a fit of ecſtaſy climbed up among the branches of a tree, and being aſked what he ſaw, made anſwer, "I ſee *a dreadful ſtorm* gathering at Oſtia." Whether the ſky was then overcaſt, or the expreſſion fell by chance, it proved in the end a true prediction.

XXXII. Meanwhile, it became publicly known at Rome, not by vague report, but by ſure intelligence brought by ſpecial meſſengers, that Claudius, fully appriſed of all that paſſed, was on his way, determined to do juſtice on the guilty. Meſſalina withdrew to the gardens of Lucullus. Silius, endeavouring under an air of gaiety to hide his fears, went towards the forum, as if he had buſineſs to tranſact. The reſt of the party fled with precipitation. The centurions purſued them. Several were ſeized in the ſtreets, or in their lurking-places, and loaded with fetters. In this reverſe of fortune, Meſſalina had no time for

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deliberation. She reſolved to meet the emperor on his way, and, in a perſonal interview, to try that power over his affections which had ſo often ſerved her on former occaſions. In order to excite compaſſion, ſhe ordered her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to fly to the embraces of their father. She prevailed on Vibidia, the eldeſt of the veſtal virgins, to addreſs the emperor as the ſovereign pontiff, and wring from him, by the force of prayers, a pardon for his wife. She herſelf traverſed the city on foot, with only three attendants. Such, in the moment of adverſity, was the ſolitude in which ſhe was left. She mounted into a tumbrel, uſually employed to carry off the refuſe of the city-gardens, and in that vehicle proceeded on her way to Oſtia. From the ſpectators not a groan was heard; no ſign of pity was ſeen. The enormity of her guilt ſuppreſſed every kind emotion of the heart.

XXXIII. Claudius, in the mean time, was thrown into violent agitations. Doubt and fear diſtracted him. He had no reliance on Geta, who commanded the prætorian guards; a man at all times fluctuating between good and evil, and ready for any miſchief. Narciſſus, ſeconded by his friends and aſſociates, ſpoke his mind in terms plain and direct. He told the emperor that all was loſt, if the command of the camp were not, for that day, veſted in one of his freedmen. He offered himſelf for that important office; and left Claudius on the road to Rome ſhould be induced, by the influence of Lucius Vitellius and Publius Largus Cæcina, to alter his reſolution, he deſired to be conveyed in the ſame carriage with the prince. He mounted the vehicle, and took his place without further ceremony.

XXXIV. Claudius, as he proceeded towards the city, felt himſelf diſtracted by contending paſſions. He inveighed againſt

his wife; he ſoftened into tenderneſs, and felt for his children. During all that agitation of mind, Vitellius, we are told, contented himſelf with ſaying, "The vile iniquity! The infamous "crime!" Narciſſus preſſed him to be more explicit; but his anſwers were in the oracular ſtyle, dark, ambiguous, and liable to be interpreted various ways. Cæcina followed his example. It was not long before Meſſalina appeared in ſight. Her ſupplications were loud and vehement. "Hear your unhappy "wife," ſhe ſaid; "hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus." To prevent any impreſſion of tenderneſs, the accuſer raiſed his voice: he talked of Silius, and the wickedneſs of the marriage; he produced a memorial, containing a full account of the whole proceeding, and, to draw the emperor's eyes from Meſſalina, gave him the papers to read. As they entered Rome, Octavia and Britannicus preſented themſelves before the prince; but, by order of Narciſſus, they were both removed. Vibidia claimed to be heard: in a pathetic tone ſhe remonſtrated, that to condemn his wife unheard, would be unjuſt, and ſhocking to humanity. She received for anſwer, that Meſſalina would have her opportunity to make her defence; in the mean time, it became a veſtal virgin to retire to the functions of her ſacred office.

XXXV. The ſilence of Claudius, during the whole of this ſcene, was beheld with aſtoniſhment. Vitellius looked aghaſt, affecting to underſtand nothing. All directions were given by the freedman. He ordered the adulterer's houſe to be thrown open, and proceeded thither with the emperor. He ſhewed him in the veſtibule the ſtatue of Silius the father, which the ſenate had ordered to be deſtroyed; he pointed to the ſplendid ornaments, formerly the property of the Neros and the Druſi, now in the poſſeſſion of the adulterer; the reward of his profligacy,

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ſligacy. Claudius was fired with indignation. Before he had time to cool, and while, with violent menaces, he was denouncing vengeance, Narciſſus took advantage of the moment, and conducted him to the camp. The ſoldiers were aſſembled in a body to receive him. Claudius, by the advice of his miniſters, delivered a ſhort harangue. On the ſubject of his diſgrace it was impoſſible to expatiate; ſhame ſuppreſſed his voice. The camp reſounded with rage and clamour. The ſoldiers called aloud for the names of the guilty, threatening immediate vengeance. Silius was brought before the tribunal. He attempted no defence; he aſked for no delay; inſtant death was all he deſired. Several Roman knights followed his example, with equal firmneſs wiſhing to end their miſery. In the number were Titius Proculus, whom Silius had appointed to guard Meſſalina; Vectius Valens, who confeſſed his guilt, and offered to give evidence againſt others; Pompeius Urbicus, and Saufellus Trogus: by the emperor's order they were hurried to inſtant execution. The ſame fate attended Decius Calpurnianus, præfect of the night-watch; Sulpicius Rufus, director of the public games; and Juncus Virgilianus, a member of the ſenate.

XXXVI. MNESTER was the only perſon, in whoſe favour Claudius was held in ſuſpenſe. This man, in agony, tore his garments, and "Behold," he ſaid, "behold a body ſeamed with "ſtripes. Remember your own words, Cæſar, the words, in "which you gave me ſtrict directions to obey the will and plea"ſure of Meſſalina. The reſt acted for their reward; they had "bright objects in view. If I have erred, I erred through neceſ"ſity, not by inclination. Had Silius ſeized the reins of govern"ment, I ſhould have been the firſt victim to his fury." Claudius heſitated: touched with compaſſion, he was on the point of granting the wretch his pardon; but after executing ſo many perſons

perſons of illuſtrious rank, his freedmen told him, that the life of a minſtrel was of no value: whether the man offended from inclination, or compulſion, was not worth a moment's pauſe: his caſe deſerved no favour. The defence made by Traulus Montanus, a Roman knight, availed him nothing. In the prime of youth, of ingenuous manners, and an elegant figure, he had the misfortune to be diſtinguiſhed by Meſſalina. She invited him to her bed, and, after one night, diſmiſſed him from her ſervice. Such was the caprice that ruled all her paſſions: ſhe loved with fury, and was ſoon diſguſted. A pardon was granted to Suillius Cæſoninus and Plautius Lateranus: the laſt, in conſideration of the great merit of his uncle *(a)*, was ſaved from execution. Cæſoninus was protected by his vices. In that lewd ſociety, with whom he had been lately connected, he had been obliged to ſuffer unnatural indignities; and that diſgrace was deemed ſufficient puniſhment.

XXXVII. Messalina remained, during this whole time, in the gardens of Lucullus. She ſtill entertained hopes of prolonging her days. She began to write to the emperor in a ſtyle of ſupplication; her paſſions ſhifted, and ſhe ſpoke the language of reproach: even in ruin, her pride was not abated. If Narciſſus had not haſtened the execution, there is no doubt but the blow, aimed at her, would have recoiled upon himſelf. Claudius, as ſoon as he returned to his palace, placed himſelf at his convivial table. Being refreſhed, and in a ſhort time warm with wine, he gave orders that a meſſenger ſhould be ſent to tell the unhappy woman (thoſe were his words), that on the next day ſhe ſhould be admitted to make her defence. Narciſſus took the alarm: he ſaw the reſentments of his maſter ebbing faſt away, and his former fondneſs flowing in upon him. Delay was big with danger. The night, then coming on apace, might produce a change of ſentiment; and his very bed-chamber, the ſcene of

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all his happineſs, might melt him into tenderneſs and conjugal affection. Filled with theſe apprehenſions, the freedman ruſhed out of the banqueting-room, and, in the emperor's name, gave orders to the centurions, and the tribune on duty, to do immediate execution on Meſſalina. Evodus, one of the freedmen, was ſent to ſuperintend the execution. This man made the beſt of his way to the gardens. He found the empreſs ſtretched on the ground, and Lepida, her mother, ſitting by her. While Meſſalina flouriſhed in proſperity, the mother kept no terms with her daughter. In her preſent diſtreſs, ſhe felt the regret and anguiſh of a parent. "Death," ſhe told the unhappy criminal, "was her only refuge. To linger for the ſtroke of the "executioner were unworthy and ignoble. Life with her was "over: ſhe was in the laſt act, and nothing remained but to cloſe "the ſcene with dignity and a becoming ſpirit." But in a mind, like that of Meſſalina, depraved by vicious paſſions, every virtue was extinguiſhed. She ſunk under her afflictions, overwhelmed with grief, diſſolved in tears, and uttering vain complaints, when the garden-gate was thrown open. The tribune preſented himſelf in ſullen ſilence. Evodus, the freedman, diſcharged a torrent of opprobrious language, with all the malice of a ſervile ſpirit.

XXXVIII. Messalina was now, for the firſt time, ſenſible of her condition. She ſaw that all was loſt; ſhe received a poniard; ſhe aimed it with a feeble effort at her throat; ſhe pointed it to her breaſt, irreſolute, and clinging ſtill to life. The tribune diſpatched her at one blow. Her body was left to be diſpoſed of by her mother. The emperor, in the mean time, had not riſen from table. He was told that Meſſalina was no more; but whether ſhe died by her own hand, or that of the executioner, was not mentioned, nor did it occur to him to aſk the queſtion. He called for wine, and pampered himſelf, as uſual

uſual, with the luxuries of the table. On the following days he appeared unmoved, unaltered, without a ſymptom of anger, joy, or grief, or any one ſenſation of the human heart. Even amidſt the exultations of Meſſalina's enemies, and the cries of her children, lamenting their unhappy mother, he remained ſunk in ſtupid apathy. In order to blot her altogether from his memory, the ſenate decreed, that her name ſhould be effaced in all places, whether public or private, and that her images ſhould be every where taken down. The enſigns of the quæſtorian dignity were voted to Narciſſus; a ſlender recompenſe, when it is conſidered, that, though ſecond in rank to Pallas and Calliſtus, he was the chief adviſer in the whole proceeding againſt Meſſalina. The puniſhment inflicted, by his means, was undoubtedly juſt; but it proved the ſource of numberleſs crimes, and a long train of public calamity *(a)*.

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

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Theſe tranſactions paſſed in ſix years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls
802	49	*Pomponius Longinus Gallus, Quintus Veranius.*
803	50	*Caius Antiſtius Vetus, M. Suillius Nervillianus.*
804	51	*Claudius, 5th time, S. Coruelius Orphitus.*
805	52	*P. Cornelius Sylla Fauſtus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus.*
806	53	*Decimus Junius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus.*
807	54	*Marcus Aſinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola.*

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XII.

BOOK XII.

A. U. C. 801. A. D. 48.

I. THE death of Meſſalina threw the imperial family into a ſtate of diſtraction. The freedmen were divided into contending factions. The emperor diſliked a life of celibacy, and the uxorious diſpoſition of his nature made him liable to be governed by the partner of his bed. Which of the favourites ſhould make the fortune of a future empreſs was the point in diſpute. Nor was female ambition leſs excited. Several candidates aſpired to the vacant throne, all depending on pretenſions, that gave to each a decided title; ſuch as nobility of birth, ſuperior beauty, immoderate riches, and, in ſhort, every claim to that great elevation. The conteſt, however, lay between Lollia Paulina, the daughter of Marcus Lollius the conſul, and Agrippina,

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pina, the immediate iſſue of Germanicus. Pallas eſpouſed the intereſt of Agrippina, and Lollia was ſupported by Calliſtus. There was ſtill a third rival, namely Ælia Petina, deſcended from the family of the Tuberos. Narciſſus declared in her favour. By the jarring counſels of the three favourites, Claudius was diſtracted in his choice; by turns inclined to each, perſuaded always by the laſt, yet determined by none. At length, to weigh their different propoſitions, and the reaſonings in ſupport of them, he called his confidential miniſters to an audience.

II. Narcissus urged in favour of Ælia Petina *(a)*, that ſhe was formerly the wife of Claudius, and by him was the mother of Antonia. By joining her again in the bands of wedlock, no alteration would be made in the imperial family. A perſon, with whom the prince had already experienced the tendereſt union, would be reinſtated; and, ſince Octavia and Britannicus were ſo nearly allied to her daughter, ſhe would embrace them both with ſincere affection, free from the little jealouſies of a ſtep-mother. Calliſtus, on the contrary, was of opinion, that a woman, diſgraced by a long divorce, and ſuddenly reſtored to favour, would bring with her the pride and arrogance of an actual conqueſt: but to Lollia no objection could be made: ſhe had never been a mother, and, by conſequence, her affections, not already engaged, would be reſerved for the iſſue of the prince. Her whole ſtock of tenderneſs would be engroſſed by Octavia and Britannicus. Pallas contended for Agrippina: by a match with her, the grandſon of Germanicus would be tranſplanted into the imperial family, and that union would be an acceſſion of ſtrength to the Claudian line. Agrippina was ſtill in the prime of life, of a conſtitution that promiſed a numerous iſſue; and to ſuffer a woman of her rank and dignity to carry the ſplendour of the Cæſarean line into another family, would be a meaſure highly impolitic.

III. This

III. This reaſoning weighed with Claudius, and the beauty of Agrippina added force to the argument. She had, beſides, the art of diſplaying her charms to the beſt advantage. The ties of conſanguinity gave her free acceſs to her uncle. She made uſe of her opportunities, and, in a ſhort time, ſecured her conqueſt. Without waiting for the marriage rites, ſhe was able to anticipate the ſplendour and authority of imperial grandeur. Sure of her triumph over her rival, ſhe enlarged her views, and by a projected match between Domitius *(a)*, her ſon by Cneius Ænobarbus, and Octavia, the emperor's daughter, began to plan the elevation of her family. The ſcene before her flattered her ambition, but without a ſtroke of iniquity could not be realized. The fact was, Octavia, with the conſent of Claudius, was contracted to Lucius Silanus, a youth of noble deſcent, by triumphal honours rendered ſtill more illuſtrious, and by a ſpectacle of gladiators, given in his name, endeared to the people. But to a woman of high ambition and a politic character it was not difficult to mould to her purpoſes a man like Claudius, void of ſentiment, without a paſſion, and without a motive, except what was infuſed by the ſuggeſtion of others.

IV. Vitellius ſaw the tide running with a rapid current in favour of Agrippina. He reſolved to ingratiate himſelf without delay. His office of cenſor gave him the power of executing the vileſt purpoſes, and, at the ſame time, ſerved as a veil to hide his iniquity. He made advances to Agrippina, and entered into all her meaſures. His firſt ſtep was to frame an accuſation againſt Silanus, whoſe ſiſter, Junia Calvina, in her perſon elegant, but of a looſe and laſcivious character, had been, not long before, the daughter-in-law of Vitellius. He accuſed them both of an inceſtuous commerce. The charge, in truth, was without foundation; but the folly of a brother and ſiſter, who were ſo unguarded

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as to give to natural affection an air of criminality, afforded colour for the imputation. Claudius liſtened to the ſtory. Inclined to protect his daughter, he was eaſily incenſed againſt an intended huſband, who had ſhewn himſelf capable of ſo foul a crime. Silanus was, at that time, prætor for the year. He little ſuſpected the treacherous arts, by which his character and his fortune were undermined. By an unexpected edict, iſſued by Vitellius, he was expelled the ſenate, though that aſſembly had been lately reviewed and regiſtered by the cenſor. Claudius declared the marriage contract void; he renounced all ties of affinity with Silanus, and obliged him to abdicate the prætorſhip, though but a ſingle day remained to complete the year. For that ſhort interval, Eprius Marcellus was appointed to fill the vacant office.

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V. In the conſulſhip of Caius Pomponius Longinus and Quintus Veranius, the fond endearments, that paſſed between the emperor and his niece, left no room to doubt but their criminal loves, moſt probably indulged already, would ſoon be followed by the nuptial ceremony. But the marriage of an uncle with his brother's daughter, was, at that time, without a precedent. If they avowed an inceſtuous marriage, the popular hatred might be inflamed againſt them, and ſome public calamity might befal the city of Rome. Claudius was held in ſuſpenſe. Vitellius undertook to remove every ſcruple. He deſired to know whether the emperor would make the ſenſe of the people, and the authority of the ſenate, the rule of his conduct. Claudius replied, that he was one of the people, an individual too weak to reſiſt the public voice. Vitellius deſired that he would remain in his palace, and went directly to the ſenate. He began with aſſuring the fathers that he came on buſineſs of the firſt importance, and, having obtained leave to ſpeak out of his turn he proceeded as follows:

follows: "The office of ſupreme magiſtrate is at beſt a ſtate of painful ſolicitude. The cares of a prince, who ſuperintends the government of the world, requires domeſtic comfort to ſweeten anxiety, and leave him at leiſure to think for the good of the whole. And where can he find a comfort ſo fit, ſo honourable, ſo conſiſtent with his dignity, as in the arms of a wife, his partner in proſperity, and in affliction the balm of all his cares? With a faithful aſſociate, he may unload his inmoſt thoughts; to her he may commit the management of his children; and, in that tender union, unſeduced by pleaſure, unbauched by riot and luxury, he may continue to ſhew that reverence for the laws, which diſtinguiſhed the character of Claudius from his earlieſt youth."

VI. AFTER this artful introduction, finding that he was heard by the fathers with manifeſt ſymptoms of a complying ſpirit, he reſumed his diſcourſe. "Since it ſeems to be the prevailing opinion, that, to alleviate the cares of the emperor, an imperial conſort is abſolutely neceſſary, nothing remains but to recommend the choice of a perſon, diſtinguiſhed by her illuſtrious birth, a fruitful womb, and the purity of her morals. This point may be ſoon decided. Agrippina muſt, of courſe, preſent herſelf to every mind. Deſcended from a noble ſtock, ſhe is the mother of children, and poſſeſſes, beſides, all the virtues and all the graces of her ſex. Nor is this all: by the ſpecial care of the gods, a prince, who has known no lawleſs pleaſures, who has ſought the modeſt enjoyments of connubial love, has now an opportunity of taking a widow to his arms, without injury to any private citizen, and without violating the rights of the marriage bed. By former emperors wives have been taken from the embraces of their huſbands: we have heard it from our fathers; we have been eye-witneſſes of the fact. But

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"theſe acts of violence are now at an end. A precedent may be "eſtabliſhed, to regulate the conduct of all future emperors. "But it may be ſaid, a marriage between the uncle and his niece "is unknown to Roman manners. To this the anſwer is ob- "vious: it is the practice of foreign nations, and no law forbids "it. By the rule of ancient times, couſin-germans were reſtrained "from marrying; but the change of manners has introduced a "different cuſtom. Such marriages are now grown familiar. "Public convenience is the parent of all civil inſtitutions: the "marriage, which to-day ſeems an innovation, in future times "will be the general practice."

VII. This ſpeech was received with the general aſſent. Many of the fathers ruſhed out of the houſe, declaring aloud, that if the emperor heſitated, they knew how to enforce compliance. The populace at the door echoed back the voice of the ſenate, and, with violent uproar, called it the wiſh of the people. Claudius delayed no longer: he ſhewed himſelf in the forum, amidſt ſhouts and acclamations. He proceeded to the ſenate, and there deſired that a decree might paſs, declaring marriages between the uncle and his niece legal for the future. The law was enacted, but little reliſhed. Titus Alledius Severus, a Roman knight, was the only perſon willing to embrace ſuch an alliance. He married his niece, but, as was generally believed, with a deſign to pay his court to Agrippina. From this time a new ſcene of affairs was opened. The government of a woman prevailed; but it was no longer a woman of looſe and diſſolute manners like Meſſalina, who meant to mock the people with a reign of lewdneſs and debauchery. Agrippina eſtabliſhed a deſpotic ſyſtem, and maintained it with the vigour of a manly ſpirit: in her public conduct rigorous, and often arrogant, ſhe ſuffered no irregularity in her domeſtic management. Vice, when

when ſubſervient to her ſchemes of ambition, might be the means, but never was her ruling paſſion. Her avarice knew no bounds: but the ſupport of government was her pretext.

VIII. On the day of the nuptial ceremony Silanus put an end to his life. Till that time he had nouriſhed deluſive hopes; or, it might be his intention to mark the day by a deed of horror. His ſiſter Calvina was baniſhed out of Italy. Claudius, to atone for her offence, revived the ancient law of Tullus, the Roman king, and ordered a ſacrifice and expiations by the pontiffs to be made in the grove of Diana. This provoked the public ridicule. It was obſerved that the time for inflicting penalties, and performing ſolemn rites, was choſen with notable judgment, when adultery was by law eſtabliſhed. Agrippina was not willing to be diſtinguiſhed by evil deeds alone: in order to grace her character, ſhe interceded for Annæus Seneca, who had been driven into baniſhment; and not only reſtored him to his country, but obtained for him the prætorian rank. The learning and brilliant genius of that philoſopher, ſhe had no doubt, would render the meaſure acceptable to the people; and, from the education of her ſon Domitius under ſuch a maſter, ſhe promiſed herſelf great advantages. She had ſtill a deeper ſcheme in view: by the wiſdom and advice of Seneca, ſhe hoped to make the road to empire ſmooth and level for her ſon. Motives of gratitude would have their influence on the mind of that eminent man, and fix him in her intereſt, a faithful counſellor, and her friend by ſentiment; while a ſenſe of former injuries would make him the ſecret enemy of Claudius.

IX. Having conceived this plan of ambition, ſhe thought her meaſures could not be too ſoon concerted. She contrived, by large and generous promiſes, to gain over to her purpoſes

Memmius

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Memmius Pollio, at that time conſul elect. He moved in the ſenate an addreſs to the emperor, requeſting his conſent to a contract of marriage between Domitius and Octavia. The match was ſuited to the age of the parties. Agrippina intended it as a prelude to greater ſcenes, not yet diſcloſed. The ſpeech of Pollio to the fathers was little more than a repetition of what had been urged by Vitellius. The motion ſucceeded. Octavia was promiſed to Domitius, and, by this additional tie, the young prince was raiſed to higher ſplendour. He was now conſidered as the ſon-in-law of the emperor. Supported by the intrigues of his mother, and not leſs by the enemies of Meſſalina, who dreaded the vengeance of her ſon, he began to vie with Britannicus, and even to diſpute with him the point of precedence.

X. The deputies from Parthia ſent, as has been related, to demand Meherdates for their king, were admitted to an audience before the ſenate. They opened their commiſſion in the following manner: "The alliance between Rome and Parthia, "and the ſubſiſting treaties, are fully known to us; nor is it a "ſpirit of diſaffection to the family of the Arſacides that brings "us to this aſſembly. We ſeek the ſon of Vonones, the grand-"ſon of Phraates. In the preſent criſis, he is our only refuge, "our ſhield and beſt protection from the tyranny of Gotarzes, "who is juſtly execrated by the whole Parthian nation. His "reign is marked with blood. His brothers were the firſt "victims to his fury. His kindred have been ſince cut off. "No place is ſafe from devaſtation: neither age nor ſex is "ſpared; parents and their children periſh in one general maſ-"ſacre, and infants yet unborn are butchered in the mother's "womb. Such are the exploits of Gotarzes; in peace a tyrant, "and in war diſaſtrous to his country. Cruelty, he hopes, "will ſeem in the eyes of men a warlike ſpirit. The treaties

"ſubſiſting between Rome and Parthia are of ancient date: "they have been the baſis of a laſting friendſhip; and to prove "that friendſhip ſincere, the fathers have now a fair oppor- "tunity. It is theirs to vindicate the rights of a nation, which, "though not inferior in point of ſtrength and numbers, yields "to Rome from motives of reſpect. For this reaſon the ſons "of Parthian kings have been delivered up as hoſtages. The "principle of that acquieſcence is, that if domeſtic tyranny "ſhould prove a galling yoke, the people may have recourſe to "the emperor and the ſenate. They now claim, at your hands, "a king trained up in Roman manners, and, by conſequence, "likely to bring with him to his native country the beſt notions "of civil government."

XI. CLAUDIUS anſwered the ambaſſadors in a ſtyle of magnificence. He ſet forth the grandeur of the Roman name, and the deference due from the Parthian nation. He placed himſelf on a level with Auguſtus, who, in like manner, had received the applications of a whole people; but he made no mention of Tiberius *(a)*, though that emperor had dealt out ſceptres, and placed foreign kings on the throne of Parthia. After this brilliant harangue, he turned to Meherdates, then preſent in the ſenate, and in a ſerious ſtrain admoniſhed him to remember that he was going forth, not the lord of ſlaves, but the governor of men; not the tyrant, but the chief magiſtrate of his fellow citizens. He adviſed him to practiſe the virtues of juſtice and moderation; virtues, he ſaid, unknown to ſavage life, but for that reaſon more likely to charm by their novelty. From the prince he turned to the Parthian ambaſſadors, and, in handſome terms, commended to their care the pupil of Rome; a young prince of ingenuous manners, and no ſtranger to the liberal arts. He added, that the Parthians would do well to temporiſe with the

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the genius of their kings, and to overlook the failings of human nature. Frequent revolutions could give no ſolid advantage. Rome was at the higheſt point of grandeur. Enough of glory had been gained by the progreſs of her arms; ſhe therefore put a period to her victories, and the tranquillity of foreign nations was now the object of her care. Meherdates was committed to the Parthian deputies; and Caius Caſſius, the governor of Syria, had it in command to conduct him to the banks of the Euphrates.

XII. Cassius, at that period, was the moſt eminent man of the age for his profound knowledge of the laws. In times of peace, the military ſcience falls into neglect. Between the warlike genius and the inactive ſluggard no diſtinction remains. And yet the ardent mind of Caſſius could not languiſh in a ſtate of ſtupid indolence. Though there was no war upon his hands to rouſe the ſpirit of the legions, he reſolved, by every method in his power, to maintain the rigour of ancient diſcipline. He kept the ſoldiers in conſtant exerciſe; he eſtabliſhed new regulations, and practiſed every duty with as much zeal as if the enemy were actually in arms againſt him. This ſeverity, he thought, became a man who had before his eyes the bright example of his anceſtors, and, above all, the fame of the celebrated Caſſius, which was diffuſed through all the eaſtern nations. Having pitched his camp near Zeugma, a city where the paſſage over the Euphrates is moſt practicable, he waited for a convention of the Parthian chiefs, who had made their application to Rome. As ſoon as they arrived, and with them Abgarus, king of the Arabs *(a)*, he delivered Meherdates into their hands, having previouſly reminded the prince, that among Barbarians the firſt impulſe of their zeal is violent, but apt to relax, and end in treachery. His intereſt, therefore, called for vigorous

vigorous meaſures. By the artifice of Abgarus that advice was rendered abortive. The prince, as yet without experience, ſuſpecting no deceit, and weak enough to think that royalty conſiſts in luxury and riot, was ſeduced to the city of Edeſſa, and there detained ſeveral days, the dupe of the wily Arabian. Carrhenes, in the mean time, preſſed Meherdates to advance with expedition. By his meſſengers he promiſed certain ſucceſs, if no time was loſt in frivolous delay. All was ineffectual. Though Meſopotamia was at hand, they never entered that country, but, taking a wider circuit, marched towards Armenia, where the rigour of the winter was already begun.

XIII. AFTER a toilſome march over craggy mountains covered with a waſte of ſnow, they deſcended at laſt into the open country. Carrhenes joined them at the head of his forces. Thus reinforced, the army paſſed over the Tigris, and penetrated into the country of the Adiabenians *(a)*. Izates, king of that people, in outward ſhew favoured Meherdates, but in his heart inclined to Gotarzes. In the courſe of their march, they made themſelves maſters of the city of Ninos *(b)*, formerly the ſeat of the Aſſyrian monarchy. They alſo took the caſtle of ARBELA, memorable in ſtory for the laſt battle between Darius and Alexander, by which the fate of the Perſian monarchy was decided. Gotarzes, in the mean time, took poſt on the heights of mount SAMBULOS *(c)*. He there offered up a ſacrifice to the deities of the place, and chiefly to Hercules, the leading god. At ſtated periods, according to an ancient legend, Hercules inſpired the dreams of the prieſts, and, in a viſion, gave his orders, "That a "ſet of horſes, ready for the chaſe, ſhould be ſtationed near the "temple. The hunters, accordingly, are drawn out, well "equipped with quivers and a ſtore of arrows." Thus capariſoned, they ſtretch at full ſpeed through the woods, and, at

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the close of day, return to the temple without an arrow left, weary, and panting for breath. The god appears again, in a midnight vision, to tell the priests the tracts of the forest where he pursued his game. After this information, diligent search is made, and a large quantity of game, killed in the chase, is found in the woods.

XIV. GOTARZES had not as yet assembled all his forces, and the issue of a battle was what he wished to avoid. The river Corma served to cover him from the assaults of the enemy. He there stood at bay, devising various delays, encamping, and shifting his ground; and though provoked by various insults, and even by messengers challenged to the conflict, he contrived, notwithstanding, to protract the war, while his agents were busy in the adverse camp, by gifts and promises seducing the friends of Meherdates. Izates, king of the Adiabenians, was the first to withdraw with all his forces. Abgarus, the Arabian, followed his example, both displaying the fickle disposition and the venality of Barbarians. To sue for kings at the hands of Rome was their frequent custom; but experience shews that they petitioned only to betray. Weakened by desertion, and suspecting further treachery, Meherdates resolved to try the issue of a battle. Nor was Gotarzes disposed to decline the conflict. A fierce engagement followed, with great slaughter on both sides. The victory was long held in suspense, till Carrhenes, having broke the enemy's lines, pursued his advantage with too much ardour. He was attacked in the rear by a body of reserve, and hemmed in on every side. Meherdates saw nothing but impending ruin. In his distress he trusted to the advice of Parrhaces, one of his father's freedmen. By that traitor he was thrown into fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. Gotarzes behaved with the pride and insolence of victory. He

reviled his captive as a ſtranger to the blood of the Arſacides, a man of foreign extraction, and a ſlave to Rome. He ordered his ears to be cut off, and left him, in that condition, a wretched proof of Parthian clemency, and a living diſgrace to the Romans. Gotarzes was ſoon after carried off by a fit of illneſs. Vonones, at that time governor of Media, mounted the vacant throne. Of this prince, either in his diſtreſſes or his proſperity, nothing remains worthy of a place in hiſtory. After a ſhort and inglorious reign, he left the Parthian diadem to his ſon Vologeſes.

XV. DURING theſe tranſactions, a new alarm was raiſed by Mithridates *(a)*, king of Boſphorus, who had been lately driven out of his dominions. He continued, ever ſince his expulſion, wandering from place to place, forlorn and helpleſs. He learned, at length, that Didius, the Roman general, retired with the flower of his army, leaving the kingdom of Thrace in the hands of Cotys, a prince without experience, ſcarcely ſettled on the throne, and depending on the ſlender ſupport of a few cohorts, under the command of Julius Aquila, a Roman knight. The news inſpired Mithridates with ſudden courage. He rouſed the neighbouring nations, drew together a body of deſerters, and, putting himſelf at the head of his tumultuary levies, fell with impetuous fury on the king of the Dandarides *(b)*, and made himſelf maſter of his dominions. The invaſion of Boſphorus was expected to be his next attempt. Cotys and Aquila did not think themſelves in force to reſiſt the attack; and Zorſines, king of the Siracians *(c)*, commencing hoſtilities in that critical juncture, added greatly to their fears. In this diſtreſs, they looked round to the neighbouring ſtates for aſſiſtance, and by their ambaſſadors invited Eunones, king of the Adorſians, to join the Roman arms. In a war between a powerful nation and a ruined diſmantled

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king, it was not difficult to form a new confederacy. The plan of their operations was ſoon ſettled. Eunones was to ravage the open country with his cavalry. The Romans undertook to lay ſiege to the towns and places of ſtrength.

XVI. THE combined forces took the field. On their march the Adorſians *(a)* led the van, and alſo brought up the rear. The centre conſiſted of the cohorts and the ſuccours collected in Boſphorus, armed after the Roman manner. The enemy not daring to look them in the face, they marched, without oppoſition, to the town of Soza *(b)*, in the country of the Dardanides. Finding the place abandoned by Mithridates, they took poſſeſſion, and, to guard againſt the treachery of the inhabitants, left it ſtrongly garriſoned. They penetrated next into the country of the Siracians, and, having croſſed the river Panda *(c)*, inveſted the city of USPES, ſituated on an eminence, and defended by walls and a foſſe. The walls, indeed, not being conſtructed with ſtone, but with earth thrown up and bound with hurdles, could not long reſiſt the operations of a ſiege. Towers of conſiderable height were advanced againſt the works, and from that elevation darts and flaming brands were thrown into the town with ſuch inceſſant fury, that, if the approach of night had not prevented a general aſſault, the ſiege had been begun and ended in a ſingle day.

XVII. THE beſieged, next morning, ſent a deputation with offers of an immediate ſurrender, and no leſs than ten thouſand ſlaves, on condition that the free-born ſhould remain unhurt. The terms were rejected. After a capitulation, to put the inhabitants to the ſword would be an act of inhumanity, and a violation of all the laws of war. On the other hand, to bridle ſuch a number, an adequate force could not be ſpared from a ſcanty

ſcanty army. The beſiegers, therefore, returned for anſwer, that every thing muſt be left to the deciſion of the ſword. The ſoldiers ſcaled the walls, and the ſignal was given for a general ſlaughter. The city was levelled to the ground. The adjacent nations ſaw that neither arms, nor lines of circumvallation, nor places almoſt inacceſſible, defended by nature and by rapid rivers, could withſtand the vigour of the Roman arms. In this general conſternation, Zorſines, the Siracian king, began to waver. He now conſidered whether it were beſt to adhere to Mithridates, or to provide in time for the ſecurity of his own dominions. Self-intereſt prevailed. He gave hoſtages, and humbled himſelf before the image of Claudius. Nothing could be more honourable to the Roman army. Victorious without the loſs of blood, they traverſed a vaſt tract of country, and were within three days of the Tanais *(a)*. Their return was not ſo proſperous. They went back by ſea, and ſome of the ſhips were thrown by adverſe winds on the coaſt of Taurus *(b)*. The Barbarians poured down to the ſhore, and with ſavage fury murdered a conſiderable number, with the præfect of a cohort, and moſt of the centurions.

XVIII. Meanwhile Mithridates, undone and hopeleſs, began to conſider where he might implore compaſſion. His brother Cotys had at firſt betrayed him, and then became an open enemy: on him no reliance could be had. If he ſurrendered to the Romans, there was not in the territory of Boſphorus any one officer of weight and authority to enſure the performance of his promiſes. In this diſtreſs, the unhappy monarch turned his thoughts to Eunones. That prince had no motive for perſonal animoſity, and his late alliance with Rome gave him no ſmall degree of influence. Mithridates reſolved to apply at that court. With a dejected mien, and a garb that

ſpoke

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ſpoke his wretchedneſs, he entered the palace, and falling proſtrate at the feet of the king, "Behold," he ſaid, "behold the "man, who for years has grappled with the whole power of "Rome. Mithridates humbles himſelf before you; the perſe-"cuted Mithridates, whom the Romans have purſued by ſea and "land. My fate is in your hands; uſe your diſcretion: treat, "as you ſhall think beſt, a prince deſcended from the great "Achæmenes *(a)*. The honour of that high lineage is all my "enemies have left me."

XIX. THE appearance of a man ſo diſtinguiſhed, the turns of fortune that attended him, and, even in ruin, the affliction that ſoftened, but could not ſubdue his ſpirit, touched Eunones with generous ſympathy. He raiſed the royal ſuppliant from the ground. He praiſed the magnanimity with which he threw himſelf into the power of the Adorſian nation, and, with pleaſure, undertook to be mediator between Rome and the unfortunate monarch. He diſpatched meſſengers to Claudius with letters to the following effect: "In all treaties between the Ro-"man people and foreign nations, ſimilitude of fortune was the "baſis of their alliance. The preſent union between Claudius "and the Adorſians was founded on a participation of victory; "and victory is then moſt honourable when mercy ſpares the "vanquiſhed. Of this truth Zorſines is a recent inſtance. He "ſtill retains his former poſſeſſions. But equal terms could not "be expected in the caſe of Mithridates. His offence was of a "more grievous nature. To reſtore him to his throne and king-"dom is not the object of this application. Spare his life, and "let him not walk in fetters, a public ſpectacle to grace the "victor's triumph."

XX. CLAUDIUS was, at all times, diſpoſed to act with moderation

ration towards the nobility of foreign nations. In the preſent conjuncture, he doubted which were moſt expedient, to receive the royal priſoner under a promiſe of pardon, or to take him by force of arms. Reſentment and the love of revenge were ſtrong incentives; but ſtill there were reaſons of policy in the oppoſite ſcale. "A war muſt be commenced in a diſtant region, where "the roads were difficult, and the ſea had neither harbours nor "ſtations for ſhipping; where the ſtruggle would be with fierce "and warlike kings, and a people by their wandering life inured "to fatigue; where the ſoil was unproductive, and an army, of "courſe, would be diſtreſſed for proviſions. Campaigns drawn "out into length would diſpirit the ſoldiers; ſudden operations "might be attended with hazard; from victory no glory could "redound to the Roman name, and to be defeated were inde-"lible diſgrace." For theſe reaſons, it was judged adviſable to accept the proffered terms. Mithridates, in that caſe, would remain a wandering exile, poor, diſtreſſed, and wretched. To protract his days were to protract his miſery. Claudius returned an anſwer to Eunones: "Mithridates," he obſerved, "had merited the utmoſt rigour, and the vengeance of Rome "was able to reach him. But to ſubdue the proud, and ſpare "the ſuppliant, had ever been a Roman virtue. It was by "curbing the pride of kings, and by conquering an entire people, "that Rome acquired renown in arms. Then, and then only, "ſhe had reaſon to triumph."

XXI. In conſequence of theſe diſpatches, Mithridates was delivered up to Julius Cilo, at that time imperial procurator of Pontus. He brought with him to Rome a mind unbroken by his misfortunes. In his language to Claudius he towered above his helpleſs condition. One ſentence that fell from him was celebrated at the time. "In me you ſee a man, not taken pri-"ſoner,

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" ſoner, but willing to ſurrender: I came of my own accord; " if you doubt the fact, ſet me at liberty, and retake me if you " are able." He was conducted under a guard to the roſtrum, and there preſented as a ſpectacle to the people. He ſtood unmoved, with his natural ferocity pictured in his countenance. Cilo and Aquila were rewarded for their ſervices; the former with conſular ornaments, and the latter with the enſigns of prætorian dignity.

XXII. DURING the ſame conſulſhip, the hatred of Agrippina, deep and implacable, broke out with gathered rage againſt Lollia, who had been guilty of the crime of contending for the imperial bed. An accuſation was ſoon contrived, and a proſecutor ſuborned. The ſubſtance of the charge was, " That in the late conteſt for " the emperor's choice, Lollia held conſultations with Chaldæan " ſeers; that ſhe employed magicians, and ſent to conſult the " Clarian Apollo." She was condemned unheard. Claudius addreſſed the ſenate on the occaſion. He mentioned the nobility of her birth; by the maternal line ſhe was niece to Lucius Voluſius, grand niece to Cotta Meſſalinus, and formerly the wife of Memmius Regulus. He ſaid nothing of her marriage with Caligula *(a)*. Having made that flouriſhing preface, he changed his tone, imputing to her dark deſigns againſt the ſtate. To defeat her pernicious views, nothing remained but to confiſcate her eſtates, and baniſh her out of Italy. The ſenate complied. Out of her immoderate wealth ſhe was allowed to retain no more than five millions of ſeſterces. Calpurnia, another woman of high rank, was obnoxious to the reſentments of Agrippina. It happened that Claudius, in accidental diſcourſe, without a wiſh to enjoy her perſon, praiſed the elegance of her figure. This gave jealouſy to the empreſs. She conſidered, however, that the mere crime of beauty did not deſerve to

be puniſhed with death. She ſent a tribune to Lollia, with orders to make her put an end to her days. Cadius Rufus, at the ſame time, was found guilty of extortion at the ſuit of the Bithynians.

XXIII. As a mark of favour to the province of Narbon Gaul, and to reward the veneration in which the authority of the ſenate had ever been held by the people of that country, it was ſettled by a decree, that ſuch of the natives as were Roman ſenators ſhould be at liberty, without a ſpecial licence from the emperor, to viſit their eſtates in their native province, with as full and ample privileges as had been granted to the Sicilian ſenators. Sohemus and Agrippa, kings of Ituria *(a)* and Judæa, being both dead, their reſpective territories were annexed to the province of Syria. An order was alſo made, that the auguries, relating to the public ſafety, which had lain dormant for five-and-twenty years, ſhould be revived, and never again be ſuffered to fall into diſuſe. The limits *(b)* of the city were enlarged by Claudius. The right of directing that buſineſs was, by ancient uſage, veſted in all ſuch as extended the boundaries of the empire. The right, however, had not been exerciſed by any of the Roman commanders (Sylla and Auguſtus excepted), though remote and powerful nations had been ſubdued by their victorious arms.

XXIV. What was done in early times by the ambition or the public virtue of the Roman kings, cannot now be ſeen through the miſt that hangs over diſtant ages. It may, however, be matter of ſome curioſity to mark out the foundation of the city, and the boundaries aſſigned by Romulus. The firſt outline began at the ox-market, where ſtill is to be ſeen the brazen ſtatue of a bull, that animal being commonly employed at

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the plough. From that place a furrow was carried on of ſufficient dimenſions to include the great altar of Hercules. By boundary-ſtones, fixed at proper diſtances, the circuit was continued along the foot of mount Palatine to the altar of CONSUS, extending thence to the old CURIÆ, next to the chapel of the LARES, and finally to the great Roman forum. The capitol, it is generally thought, was added, not by Romulus, but by Titus Tatius. From that period the city grew with the growth of the empire. With regard to the enlargement made by Claudius, the curious may be eaſily ſatisfied, as the public records contain an exact deſcription.

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XXV. IN the conſulſhip of Caius Antiſtius and Marcus Suillius, the adoption of Domitius was hurried on by the credit and influence of Pallas. Connected with Agrippina, whom he had raiſed to imperial ſplendour, by ties of mutual intereſt, and ſtill more ſo by the indulgence of criminal paſſions, this favourite adviſed his maſter to provide for the public ſafety, and, in aid to the tender years of Britannicus, to raiſe collateral branches in the Cæſarean line. For this meaſure Auguſtus had left a precedent. That emperor adopted the iſſue of his wife, though he had, in that very juncture, grand children to repreſent him. Tiberius copied the example, and to his own immediate offſpring united Germanicus. It would therefore become the wiſdom of Claudius to embrace, as his own, a young man who would in time be able to relieve the ſovereign, and lighten the cares of government. Convinced by this reaſoning, Claudius gave the precedence to Domitius, though but two years older than his own ſon. On this ſubject he made a ſpeech to the ſenate, content to be the organ of what his freedman had ſuggeſted. It was obſerved by men verſed in the hiſtory of their country, that this was the firſt adoption into the Claudian family; an old

patrician line, which, from the days of Atta Clauſus *(a)*, had continued, without any mixture of foreign blood, in one regular courſe of deſcent.

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XXVI. The ſenate paſſed a vote of thanks to the emperor; but in a ſtyle of exquiſite flattery their court was chiefly paid to Domitius. A law was alſo enacted, by virtue of which the young prince, under the name of Nero, was naturalized into the Claudian family. Agrippina was dignified with the title of Augusta. During theſe tranſactions, there was not a man ſo void of ſentiment, as not to behold the caſe of Britannicus with an eye of compaſſion. His very ſlaves were taken from him. His ſtep-mother interpoſed with officious civility. The young prince laughed at her kindneſs, aware of the underplot, which ſhe was carrying on againſt him. Want of diſcernment was not among his faults. It has been ſaid that he was by nature penetrating: that, perhaps, was his true character; or, it may be, that men were willing to give him credit for talents, without waiting to make the experiment.

XXVII. Agrippina had now the ambition to diſplay her weight and influence to the eyes of foreign nations. To this end ſhe cauſed a body of veterans to be ſent to the capital city of the Ubians, the place of her nativity, to be eſtabliſhed there as a colony, called after her own name *(a)*. When that people firſt paſſed over the Rhine, it happened that Agrippa, her grandfather, was the Roman general, who received them as the allies of Rome. In the preſent juncture, when the new colony was to be ſettled, a ſudden alarm broke out in the Upper Germany, occaſioned by an irruption of the Cattians *(b)*, who iſſued forth from their hive in queſt of plunder. To check their progreſs, Lucius Pomponius diſpatched a body of auxiliary troops, com-

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poſed of the Vangiones *(c)* and Nemetæans, with a ſquadron of light horſe, to make a forced march, and, if they could not attack the front line of the Barbarians, to fall upon the rear. The ardour of the ſoldiers was not inferior to the ſkill of the general. They formed two diviſions: one marched to the left, and came up with the freebooters, who had been committing depredations, and lay ſunk in ſleep and wine. The victory was cheap, but enhanced by the joy with which the conquering ſoldiers releaſed, at the end of forty years, ſome of the priſoners who were taken in the maſſacre of Varus and his legions.

XXVIII. The ſecond diviſion, which had marched to the right, and by a ſhorter road, met with greater ſucceſs. The Barbarians ventured to give battle, and were defeated with prodigious ſlaughter. Elate with ſucceſs, and loaded with ſpoils, the conquerors marched back to mount Taunus *(a)*, where Pomponius, at the head of his legions, lay in wait, expecting that the Cattians, prompted by a ſpirit of revenge, would return to the charge. But the Barbarians, dreading the Romans on one ſide, and on the other, their conſtant enemies, the Cheruſcans, ſent a deputation to Rome, with hoſtages to ſecure a pacification. Triumphal honours were decreed to Pomponius; but military fame is the leaſt part of the eſtimation in which he is held by poſterity. He excelled in elegant compoſition, and the character of the general is now eclipſed by the genius of the poet.

XXIX. Vannius *(a)*, who had been formerly raiſed by Druſus to reign over the Suevians, was, about this time, driven from his kingdom. His reign, at firſt, was mild and popular; but the habit of commanding had corrupted his nature. Pride and arrogance had taken root in his heart. Domeſtic factions conſpired againſt him, and the neighbouring nations declared open

open hoſtility. Vibillius, king of the Hermundurians, conducted the enterpriſe. He was joined by Vangio and Sido, the nephews of Vannius by a ſiſter. In this quarrel Claudius was determined not to interfere. Though often preſſed to take a decided part, he obſerved a ſtrict neutrality, content with promiſing the Suevian king a ſafe retreat from the rage of his enemies. In his diſpatches to Publius Atellius Hiſter, who had the command in Pannonia, his orders were, that the legion and the troops of the province ſhould be held in readineſs on the banks of the Danube, to ſuccour the vanquiſhed, and repel the incurſions of the Barbarians, if they attempted to invade the frontier. A powerful confederacy was then actually formed by the nations of Germany. The Ligians *(b)*, and other ſtates, were up in arms, attracted by the fame of an opulent kingdom, which Vannius, during a ſpace of thirty years, had made ſtill richer by plunder and depredations. To make head againſt the forces combined againſt him was not in the power of the Suevian king. The natural ſtrength of his kingdom conſiſted of infantry only: the Iazigians *(c)*, a people of Sarmatia, ſupplied him with a body of horſe. Notwithſtanding this reinforcement, Vannius felt his inferiority. He reſolved to keep within the ſtrong holds and faſtneſſes of the country, and draw the war into a lingering length.

XXX. The Iazigians were not of a temper to endure the ſlow operations of a ſiege. They ſpread themſelves, in their deſultory manner, round the country, and by their raſhneſs brought on a general engagement. The Ligians and Hermundurians fell in with their roving parties. Vannius was obliged to ſally out to the aſſiſtance of his friends. He gave battle, and was totally overthrown. But the praiſe of valour could not be withheld from him. Covered with honourable wounds, he

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eſcaped to his fleet, which lay in the Danube. His partiſans followed him, and, with a proper allotment of lands, were ſettled in Pannonia. The dominions of the depoſed king were divided between his two nephews Vangio and Sido, both, from that time, diſtinguiſhed by their fidelity to Rome. In the beginning of their reign, they flouriſhed in the affections of the people; honoured by all, while they ſtruggled for power; when they obtained it, deſpiſed and hated. Their own miſconduct was, perhaps, the cauſe; perhaps, the fickle temper of the people; or, it may be, that in the nature and genius of ſervitude, there is a tendency to innovation, always diſcontented, ſullen, and unquiet.

XXXI. Publius Ostorius was appointed governor of Britain, in the character of proprætor. On his arrival he found the province in commotion. A new commander, with an army wholly unknown to him, the Barbarians imagined would not venture to open a winter campaign. Fierce with this idea, they made an irruption into the territory of the ſtates in alliance with Rome, and carried devaſtation through the country. Oſtorius, knowing how much depends on the firſt operations of war, put himſelf at the head of the light cohorts, and, by rapid marches, advanced againſt the enemy. The Britons were taken by ſurpriſe. All who reſiſted were put to the ſword. The fugitives were purſued with prodigious ſlaughter. The rout was ſo complete, that there was no reaſon to apprehend a junction of their forces; but peace on thoſe terms, the general knew, would be no better than diſguiſed hoſtility. The legions would ſtill be ſubject to perpetual alarms from a fierce and inſidious enemy. He therefore reſolved to diſarm all who were ſuſpected, and, by extending a chain of forts between the Nen and the Severn *(a)*, to confine the malecontents between thoſe two rivers.

To

To counteract this design, the Icenians *(b)* took up arms; a brave and warlike people, who, at their own request, had lived in friendship with the Romans, and were, by consequence, unimpaired by the calamities of war. They formed a league with the adjacent states, and chose their ground for a decisive action. The place was inclosed with a rampart thrown up with sod, leaving an entrance in one part only, and that so difficult of access, that the Roman cavalry would not be able to force their way. Ostorius resolved to storm the place. Though unsupported by the legions, he relied on the valour of the allied forces, and, having formed his disposition for the attack, ordered his cavalry to dismount, and act with the foot soldiers. The signal being given, the assault began, and the rampart was carried by assault. The Britons, inclosed by their own fortifications, and pressed on every side, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Yet even in that distress, conscious of the guilt of rebellion, and seeing no way to escape, they fought to the last, and gave signal proofs of heroic bravery. In this engagement Marcus Ostorius, the general's son, saved the life of a Roman, and obtained the civic crown.

XXXII. The defeat of the Icenians drew after it important consequences. The neighbouring nations, no longer balancing between peace and war, laid down their arms. Ostorius led his army against the Cangians *(a)*, and laid waste their country. The soldiers carried off a considerable booty, the enemy never daring to make head against them. Wherever they attempted to annoy the army by sudden skirmishes, they paid for their rashness. The sea, that lies between Britain and Ireland, was within a short march, when Ostorius received intelligence of an insurrection among the Brigantes *(b)*. The news obliged him to return with expedition. Till every thing was secured in his rear,

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rear, it was his maxim not to puſh on his conqueſts. The Brigantes were ſoon reduced to ſubjection. Such as reſiſted were cut to pieces, and a free pardon was granted to the reſt. The Silures *(c)* were not ſo eaſily quelled: neither lenity nor rigorous meaſures could induce them to ſubmit. To bridle the inſolence of that warlike race, Oſtorius judged it expedient to form a camp for the legions in the heart of their country. For this purpoſe a colony, ſupported by a ſtrong body of veterans, was ſtationed at Camalodunum *(d)*, on the lands conquered from the enemy. From this meaſure a twofold effect was expected: the garriſon would be able to overawe the inſurgents, and give to the allied ſtates a ſpecimen of law and civil policy.

XXXIII. THESE arrangements ſettled, Oſtorius marched againſt the Silures. To their natural ferocity that people added the courage which they now derived from the preſence of Caractacus *(a)*. Renowned for his valour, and for various turns of good and evil fortune, that heroic chief had ſpread his fame through the iſland. His knowledge of the country, and his ſkill in all the wiles and ſtratagems of ſavage warfare, gave him many advantages; but he could not hope with inferior numbers to make a ſtand againſt a well-diſciplined army. He therefore marched into the territory of the Ordovicians *(b)*. Having there drawn to his ſtandard all who conſidered peace with Rome as another name for ſlavery, he determined to try the iſſue of a battle. For this purpoſe he choſe a ſpot *(c)* where the approach and the retreat were difficult to the enemy, and to himſelf every way advantageous. He took poſt in a ſituation defended by ſteep and craggy hills. In ſome places where the mountains opened, and the acclivity afforded an eaſy aſcent, he fortified the ſpot with maſſy ſtones, heaped together in the form of a rampart. A river, with fords and ſhallows of uncertain depth, waſhed the extremity

extremity of the plain. On the outſide of his fortifications, a vaſt body of troops ſhewed themſelves in force, and in order of battle.

XXXIV. The chieftains of the various nations were buſy in every quarter. They ruſhed along the ranks; they exhorted their men; they rouſed the timid; they confirmed the brave; and, by hopes, by promiſes, by every generous motive, inflamed the ardour of their troops. Caractacus was ſeen in every part of the field; he darted along the lines; he exclaimed aloud, "This "day, my fellow-warriors, this very day decides the fate of Bri- "tain. The æra of liberty, or eternal bondage, begins from this "hour. Remember your brave and warlike anceſtors, who met "Julius Cæſar in open combat, and chaſed him from the coaſt of "Britain. They were the men who freed their country from a "foreign yoke; who delivered the land from taxations, impoſed "at the will of a maſter; who baniſhed from your ſight the faſces "and the Roman axes; and, above all, who reſcued your wives "and daughters from violation." The ſoldiers received this ſpeech with ſhouts of applauſe. With a ſpirit of enthuſiaſtic valour, each individual bound himſelf by the form of oath peculiar to his nation, to brave every danger, and prefer death to ſlavery.

XXXV. The intrepid countenance of the Britons, and the ſpirit that animated their whole army, ſtruck Oſtorius with aſtoniſhment. He ſaw a river *(a)* to be paſſed; a paliſade to be forced; a ſteep hill to be ſurmounted; and the ſeveral poſts defended by a prodigious multitude. The ſoldiers, notwithſtanding, burned with impatience for the onſet. All things give way to valour, was the general cry. The tribunes and other officers ſeconded the ardour of the men. Oſtorius reconnoitred the ground, and having marked where the defiles were impenetrable, or eaſy

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of approach, gave the ſignal for the attack. The river was paſſed with little difficulty. The Romans advanced to the parapet. The ſtruggle there was obſtinate, and, as long as it was fought with miſſive weapons, the Britons had the advantage. Oſtorius ordered his men to advance under a military ſhell, and level the pile of ſtones, that ſerved as a fence to the enemy. A cloſe engagement followed. The Britons abandoned their ranks, and fled with precipitation to the ridge of the hills. The Romans purſued with eagerneſs. Not only the light troops, but even the legionary ſoldiers, forced their way to the ſummit of the hills, under a heavy ſhower of darts. The Britons, having neither breaſtplates nor helmets, were not able to maintain the conflict. The legions, ſword in hand, or with their javelins, bore down all before them. The auxiliaries, with their ſpears and ſabres, made prodigious havoc. The victory was deciſive. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken priſoners. His brother ſurrendered at diſcretion.

XXXVI. CARACTACUS fled for protection to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes. But adverſity has no friends. By that princeſs he was loaded with irons, and delivered up to the conqueror. He had waged war with the Romans during the laſt nine years *(a)*. His fame was not confined to his native iſland; it paſſed into the provinces, and ſpread all over Italy. Curioſity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who, for ſuch a length of time, made head againſt a great and powerful empire. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was in high celebrity. The emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conqueſt, beſtowed the higheſt praiſe on the valour of the vanquiſhed king. He aſſembled the people to behold a ſpectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp the prætorian bands were drawn up under

under arms. The followers of the Britiſh chief walked in proceſſion. The military accoutrements, the harneſs and rich collars, which he had gained in various battles, were diſplayed with pomp. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter, and his brother, followed next: he himſelf cloſed the melancholy train. The reſt of the priſoners, ſtruck with terror, deſcended to mean and abject ſupplications. Caractacus alone was ſuperior to misfortune. With a countenance ſtill unaltered, not a ſymptom of fear appearing, no ſorrow, no condeſcenſion, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal, he delivered himſelf in the following manner:

XXXVII. "If to the nobility of my birth, and the ſplendour of "exalted ſtation, I had united the virtues of moderation, Rome "had beheld me, not in captivity, but a royal viſitor, and a friend. "The alliance of a prince, deſcended from an illuſtrious line of "anceſtors; a prince, whoſe ſway extended over many nations, "would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverſe of "fortune is now the lot of Caractacus. The event to you is glo-"rious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, and men, and "horſes; I had wealth in abundance: can you wonder that I "was unwilling to loſe them? The ambition of Rome aſpires to "univerſal dominion: and muſt mankind, by conſequence, ſtretch "their necks to the yoke? I ſtood at bay for years: had I acted "otherwiſe, where, on your part, had been the glory of con-"queſt, and where, on mine, the honour of a brave reſiſtance? I "am now in your power: if you are bent on vengeance, execute "your purpoſe; the bloody ſcene will ſoon be over, and the "name of Caractacus will ſink into oblivion. Preſerve my life, "and I ſhall be, to late poſterity, a monument of Roman cle-"mency." Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the ſame to his wife, his daughter, and his brother. Releaſed from their fet-

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ters, they advanced to another tribunal near at hand, where Agrippina ſhewed herſelf in ſtate. They returned thanks to her, and paid their veneration in the ſame ſtyle as they had before addreſſed to the emperor. The ſight was altogether new. A woman, ſtationed amidſt the enſigns and the armies of Rome, preſented a ſpectacle unknown to the old republic: but in an empire, acquired by the valour of her anceſtors, Agrippina claimed an equal ſhare.

XXXVIII. At the next meeting of the ſenate, the victory over Caractacus was mentioned with the higheſt applauſe, as an event no way inferior to what had been ſeen in ancient times, when Publius Scipio brought Syphax in chains to Rome; when Lucius Paulus led Perſes in captivity; and when other commanders exhibited to the Roman people kings and princes at their chariot wheels. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to Oſtorius. That officer had hitherto ſeen his operations crowned with ſucceſs. He began ſoon after to experience the viciſſitudes of fortune. Perhaps the war, by the overthrow of Caractacus, was thought to be at an end, and, in that perſuaſion, military diſcipline was relaxed; perhaps the enemy, enraged by the loſs of that gallant chief, fought with inflamed reſentment. A camp had been formed in the country of the Silures, and a chain of forts was to be erected. The Britons in a body ſurrounded the officer who commanded the legionary cohorts, and, if ſuccours had not arrived in time from the neighbouring garriſons, the whole corps had been cut to pieces. The præfect of the camp, with eight centurions and the braveſt of the ſoldiers, were killed on the ſpot. A foraging party, and the detachment ſent to ſupport them, were ſoon after attacked, and put to the rout.

XXXIX. Ostorius, on the firſt alarm, ordered the light armed

armed cohorts to advance againſt the enemy. That reinforcement was inſufficient, till the legionary ſoldiers marched to their ſupport. The battle was renewed, at firſt on equal terms, but, in the end, to the diſadvantage of the Britons. But their loſs was inconſiderable. The approach of night prevented a purſuit. From that time the Britons kept up a conſtant alarm. Frequent battles, or rather ſkirmiſhes, were fought with their detached parties, roving in queſt of plunder. They met in ſudden encounters, as chance directed, or valour prompted; in the fens, in the woods, in the narrow defiles; the men, on ſome occaſions, led on by their chiefs, and frequently without their knowledge, as reſentment, or the love of booty, happened to incite their fury. Of all the Britons, the Silures were the moſt determined. They fought with obſtinacy, with inveterate hatred. It ſeems the Roman general had declared, that the very name of the Silures muſt be extirpated, like that of the Sigambrians, formerly driven out of Germany, and tranſplanted into Gaul. That expreſſion reached the Silures, and rouſed their fierceſt paſſions. Two auxiliary cohorts, whom the avarice of their officers ſent in queſt of plunder, were intercepted by that ferocious people, and all made priſoners. A fair diſtribution of the ſpoils and the captives drew the neighbouring ſtates into the confederacy. Oſtorius, at this time, was worn out with anxiety. He ſunk under the fatigue, and expired, to the great joy of the Britons, who ſaw a great and able commander, not, indeed, ſlain in battle, but overcome by the war.

XL. The death of Oſtorius being known at Rome, the emperor, aware that a province of ſo much importance ought not to remain without a governor, ſent Aulus Didius to take upon him the command. That officer ſet out with all poſſible expedition; but on his arrival found the iſland in a ſtate of diſtraction. The legion under Manlius Valens had riſked a battle, and ſuffered a defeat.

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defeat. In order to impreſs with terror the new commander, the Britons took care to ſwell the fame of their victory. Didius, on his part, was willing to magnify the loſs. The merit of the general, he knew, would riſe in proportion to the danger ſurmounted; and if he failed, the difficulty would be an apology for his conduct. In the defeat of Valens, it was the nation of the Silures that ſtruck the blow. Emboldened by ſucceſs, they continued their prædatory war, till the arrival of Didius checked their operations. In this juncture Venuſius was the Britiſh chieftain; a man, as already mentioned, born in the city of the Jugantes, and, ſince the loſs of Caractacus, the firſt in fame for valour and military experience. He had married Cartiſmandua, the queen of the Brigantes; and while they lived on good terms, his fidelity to Rome remained inviolate. Being afterwards driven from her throne and bed, he purſued his revenge by open hoſtilities, and even dared to wage war againſt the Romans.

The quarrel was at firſt a civil war amongſt themſelves. Cartiſmandua contrived to ſeize, by ſtratagem, the brother of Venuſius, with the reſt of his kindred. The Britons by that event were fired with indignation. They ſcorned to ſubmit to a female government *(a)*, and, with the flower of their youth, attacked Cartiſmandua in the heart of her territories. The inſurrection was foreſeen, and a detachment from the cohorts was ſent in time to counteract the motions of the enemy. An engagement followed, at firſt with doubtful ſucceſs; but after a ſtruggle, victory inclined to the ſide of the Romans. In another part of the country, the legion under the command of Ceſius Naſica fought with equal ſucceſs. Didius did not expoſe his perſon in any of theſe engagements. Impaired by years, and loaded with accumulated honours, he was content to act by his inferior officers; and while the enemy was kept in check, the honour of doing it was not his paſſion.

Theſe tranſactions, which happened in the courſe of different years, under the conduct of Oſtorius and Didius, are here related in one connected ſeries, to avoid breaking the thread of the narration. I now return to the order of time.

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XLI. In the fifth conſulſhip of Claudius, and the firſt of his colleague, Servius Cornelius Orphitus, the manly gown was aſſigned to Nero, before his time, that, though ſtill under age, he might appear qualified to take upon him a ſhare in public buſineſs. The ſenate, in a fit of adulation, reſolved that the young prince ſhould be declared capable of the conſulſhip at the age of twenty, and be conſidered, in the mean time, as conſul elect, with proconſular authority out of the city, and the additional title of prince of the Roman youth. Claudius not only aſſented to thoſe flattering decrees, but, in the name of Nero, gave a largeſs to the people, and a donative to the army. To conciliate the affections of the people, the Circenſian games were likewiſe exhibited. During that ſpectacle, Britannicus and Nero paſſed in review; the former clad in the prætexta, or the dreſs of his boyiſh days; the latter, with the triumphal ornaments of a Roman general. So glaring a difference ſtruck the ſpectators, as a certain prelude of their future fortunes. Among the centurions and tribunes there were men of principle, who beheld the caſe of Britannicus with an eye of compaſſion. All ſuch were removed from court; ſome under pretence of advancing them to higher offices, and the reſt for plauſible reaſons. The policy was extended even to the freedmen. In that claſs, whoever was found to be above corruption, was diſmiſſed from his place.

The two young princes met by accident. Nero ſaluted Britannicus by name, and in return was familiarly called Domitius.

This

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This incident gave umbrage to Agrippina. She flew to the emperor with her complaint: "Contempt," ſhe ſaid, "was thrown "on the adoption of Nero; what the ſenate decreed, and the voice "of the people ratified, was repealed with contumacy in the very "palace. If the men, who taught thoſe dangerous leſſons, were "not repreſſed, the miſchief would increaſe, and, perhaps, prove "fatal to the commonwealth." Claudius was eaſily alarmed. He conſidered what was no more than bare ſurmiſe, as a crime then actually committed, and, accordingly, either ſent into baniſhment, or put to death the beſt and ableſt of his ſon's tutors. New men were appointed to ſuperintend the prince's education, and the choice was left to the ſtepmother.

XLII. AGRIPPINA had ſtill greater objects in view, but Luſius Geta and Rufius Criſpinus were firſt to be removed from the command of the prætorian bands. They were both under obligations to Meſſalina, and, by ſentiment, attached to her children. Men of their diſpoſition might obſtruct her meaſures. She repreſented to the emperor, that, under two rival commanders, the ſoldiers would be divided into factions; but if that important office centered in one perſon, all would act with a principle of union, and ſtrict attention to military diſcipline. Claudius concurred in the ſame opinion. The command was given to Afranius Burrhus; an officer of great experience and a warlike character, but diſpoſed to remember the friend that raiſed him to that elevation. Having ſucceeded in theſe arrangements, Agrippina thought it time to act without reſerve: ſhe claimed a right to be conveyed in her carriage to the capitol; a right, by ancient uſage, allowed only to the ſacerdotal order, the veſtal virgins, and the ſtatues of the gods. Being now communicated to Agrippina, it could not fail to raiſe the veneration of the people for a princeſs, in whom they ſaw the daughter

daughter *(a)*, ſiſter, wife, and mother of an emperor; a combination of illuſtrious titles never, before that time, united in one perſon.

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In this juncture, Vitellius, the active leader of Agrippina's faction, after having ſtood high in the eſteem of Claudius, was at laſt, in an advanced age, involved in a proſecution, ſet on foot againſt him by Junius Lupus, a member of the ſenate. Such is the inſtability of human grandeur! The charge imported violated majeſty, and a deſign to ſeize the reins of government. Claudius was willing to liſten to the ſtory; but, by the interpoſition of Agrippina, who ſcorned to deſcend to prayers and ſupplications, the blow recoiled upon the proſecutor. He was interdicted from fire and water. To ſtretch reſentment further was not the wiſh of Vitellius.

XLIII. In the courſe of this year, the people were kept in a conſtant alarm by a ſucceſſion of portents and prodigies. Birds of evil omen infeſted the capitol; earthquakes were felt; houſes were laid in ruin, and while the multitude, in a general panic, preſſed forward to make their eſcape, the feeble and infirm were trampled under foot. A dearth of corn brought on a famine: this too was deemed a prodigy. The people were not content to murmur their diſcontents; they crowded to the tribunal, and gathering round the emperor, then ſitting in judgment, they forced him from his ſeat, and puſhed him to the extremity of the forum. The guards came to his aſſiſtance, and Claudius made his way through the crowd. Fifteen days ſubſiſtence was the moſt that Rome had then in ſtore. The winter, providentially, was mild and favourable to navigation: diſtreſs and miſery muſt, otherwiſe, have been the conſequence. In former times the caſe was very different. Italy was the granary that ſupplied foreign markets. Even at this hour, the prolific vigour of the ſoil is not

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worn out; but to depend on Egypt and Africa is the prevailing ſyſtem. The lives of the people are, by choice, committed to the caprice of winds and waves.

XLIV. In the ſame year the flame of war broke out between the Armenians and Iberians. The Romans and the Parthians were, by conſequence, involved in the quarrel. The ſceptre of Parthia was at that time ſwayed by Vologeſes, with the conſent of his brothers, though his mother, by birth a Greek, was no higher than a concubine. Pharaſmanes reigned in Iberia, confirmed on his throne by long poſſeſſion. His brother, Mithridates, received the regal diadem of Armenia from the power of Rome. The former had a ſon named Rhadamiſtus, of a tall and graceful ſtature, remarkable for bodily vigour, and an underſtanding perfectly trained in the political ſchool of his father. His talents were high in the eſteem of all the neighbouring ſtates. He ſaw, with impatience, the old age of his father protracted to a length of years. To diſguiſe his ambition was no part of his character. He expreſſed his diſcontent in a manner that alarmed Pharaſmanes. That monarch ſaw the aſpiring genius of his ſon; and, being in the decline of life, he dreaded the enterpriſing ſpirit of a young man, who had conciliated to himſelf the affections of the people. To change the tide of his paſſions, and find employment for him elſewhere, he held forth the kingdom of Armenia as a dazzling and inviting object: he himſelf, he ſaid, expelled the Parthians, and placed Mithridates on the throne. Pharaſmanes added, that it would not be adviſable to proceed with open force. Covert ſtratagem might deceive Mithridates, and enſure ſucceſs.

Rhadamiſtus made the beſt of his way to his uncle's court, as to a place of ſhelter from the diſpleaſure of his father, and the tyranny of a ſtep-mother. He met with a gracious reception. Mithridates

thridates treated him as his own ſon, with all the tenderneſs of a father. The young prince, in the mean time, drew to his intereſt the nobility of the country; and, while his uncle loaded him with favours, he was buſy in forming a conſpiracy againſt the crown and life of his benefactor.

XLV. HAVING concerted his meaſures, he returned, under colour of a family-reconciliation, to his father's court. He there explained the progreſs of his treachery, the ſnares that were prepared, and the neceſſity of giving the finiſhing blow by force of arms. To find oſtenſible reaſons for open hoſtility, was not difficult to a politic genius like that of Pharaſmanes. He alleged, that in the war between himſelf and the king of the Albanians, his application to the Romans, for a reinforcement, was defeated by the practices of Mithridates; and an injury of ſo heinous a nature could not be expiated by any thing leſs than the ruin of the man who did the miſchief. To this end, he gave the command of his forces to his ſon, who entered Armenia at the head of a numerous army. An invaſion ſo unexpected filled Mithridates with conſternation. He fled the field, and, leaving the enemy in poſſeſſion of his camp, threw himſelf into the fort of Gorneas *(a)*; a place ſtrong by nature, and defended by a Roman garriſon, under the command of Cælius Pollio, the præfect, and Caſperius, a centurion. The machinations of a ſiege, and the uſe of warlike engines, are things unknown to ſavage nations: the Romans have reduced that branch of the military art to a regular ſyſtem. Rhadamiſtus attempted to carry the works by aſſault, but without effect, and with conſiderable loſs. He formed a blockade, and, in the mean time, made his approaches to the avarice of the governor. By bribes and preſents he bargained with that officer to betray his truſt. The centurion proteſted againſt ſo foul a treachery, declaring, in a tone of firmneſs, that he would neither agree to give

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up a confederate prince, nor to barter away the kingdom of Armenia, which had been aſſigned to Mithridates by the Roman people.

Pollio, the commander in chief, affected to dread the ſuperior force of the enemy; and Rhadamiſtus, pleading the orders of his father, ſtill urged on the ſiege. In this diſtreſs, Caſperius, the centurion, ſtipulated a ceſſation of arms, and left the garriſon, in order to have an interview with Pharaſmanes, and deter him from proſecuting the war. If his endeavours failed, he reſolved to proceed with expedition to Ummidius Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, in order to make that governor acquainted with the ſtate of affairs, and the iniquity of the whole proceeding.

XLVI. The centurion had no ſooner left the place, than Pollio felt himſelf at liberty to act without controul. He adviſed Mithridates to compromiſe the quarrel, and end the war by a regular treaty. He urged the ties of natural affection between brothers, and the rights of ſeniority, which preponderated in favour of Pharaſmanes. He added, that "Mithridates was, in "fact, the ſon-in-law of his brother, and, at the ſame time, "uncle, and father-in-law to Rhadamiſtus. The Iberians were "ſuperior in number, and yet willing to accede to terms of pa-"cification. The perfidy of the Armenians was become prover-"bial. Pent up in a fortreſs, ill ſupplied with proviſions, he "could not hope to hold out much longer. In that diſtreſs, "what room was left for deliberation? Peace, on reaſonable "terms, was preferable to a deſtructive war."

Such were the arguments urged by Cælius Pollio; but Mithridates ſuſpected the counſels of a man, who had ſeduced one of the royal concubines, and ſhewn himſelf a venal tool, ready at the

the beck of the higheſt bidder, to commit any crime however atrocious. Meanwhile, Caſperius reached the court of Pharaſmanes. He expoſtulated with that monarch, and preſſed him to raiſe the ſiege. The politic king amuſed the centurion with plauſible anſwers. He talked in equivocal terms, and drew the buſineſs into a negociation, while his ſecret diſpatches urged Rhadamiſtus, by any means, and without delay, to make himſelf maſter of the place. Pollio raiſed the price of his treachery, and Rhadamiſtus complied with his terms. In conſequence of their bargain, the governor, by corrupt practices, contrived to make the ſoldiers demand a capitulation, and, if not granted, to threaten one and all to abandon the place. Mithridates, in that extremity, fixed the time and place for a congreſs, and went out of the garriſon.

XLVII. RHADAMISTUS advanced to meet him. He ruſhed to the king's embrace; he offered every mark of duty and reſpect to his uncle and his father-in-law; and, by a ſolemn oath, aſſured him that he would not at any time employ either ſword or poiſon againſt his life. He decoyed Mithridates into a neighbouring wood, where he ſaid a ſacrifice was prepared, to ratify the treaty in the preſence of the gods. Among the eaſtern kings, whenever they enter into mutual engagements, a peculiar cuſtom prevails: the contracting parties take each other by the right hand, and with a ligature bind their thumbs together, till the blood is forced to the extremities, and with a ſlight puncture finds a vent. As it guſhes forth, the kings apply their mouths to the orifice, and ſuck each other's blood. The treaty, in this manner, receives the higheſt ſanction, ſigned, as it were, with the blood of the parties. On the preſent occaſion, the perſon, whoſe office it was to tie the knot, pretending to have made a falſe ſtep, fell at the feet of Mithridates, and laying hold of his knees,

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knees, brought him to the ground. A crowd ruſhed in and bound the proſtrate king with fetters. A chain was faſtened to his foot, and in that condition (eſteemed by thoſe nations the higheſt diſgrace) he was dragged along with brutal violence. The populace, reſenting the grievances which they had ſuffered under an oppreſſive and deſpotic reign, inſulted him with vulgar ſcurrility, and even with blows. Thinking men beheld the ſad reverſe with compaſſion. The wife of the unhappy monarch followed with her children, and filled the place with ſhrieks and lamentations. They were all ſecured in covered carriages, apart from each other, till the pleaſure of Pharaſmanes ſhould be known. Luſt of power was the paſſion of that prince. For a brother and a daughter not one tender ſentiment remained. He ordered them to be put to death; but, though inured to crimes, not in his ſight. Rhadamiſtus obſerved his oath with a pious fraud, that added to his guilt. He had bound himſelf not to uſe either ſword or poiſon; but he ſmothered his uncle under a load of clothes, and by that evaſion ſatisfied the religion of a murderer. The children of the unhappy monarch bewailed the loſs of their father, and, for that crime, were maſſacred.

XLVIII. This act of treachery, and the murders that followed it, were ſoon made known to Quadratus. He called a council of war, and, after ſtating that the enemies of the deceaſed king were in poſſeſſion of his dominions, the point which he ſubmitted to conſideration was, Whether, in that conjuncture, vindictive meaſures were adviſable. Few at the meeting retained a ſenſe of public honour. Maxims of policy and ſelf-intereſt weighed with the majority. "The guilt," they ſaid, "of "foreign nations gave a ſolid advantage to the empire, and for "that reaſon ought to be a ſource of joy. To foment diviſions "among the enemies of Rome was the trueſt wiſdom; and, "with

"with that view, the crown of Armenia had been often, with "a ſhow of generoſity, dealt out by the emperor as the ſpecial "gift of the Roman people. Let Rhadamiſtus hold his ill-"gotten power; he will hold it with infamy, and the execration "of mankind: while he owes his elevation to his crimes, he "will effectually ſerve the intereſts of Rome." This reaſoning prevailed. The council, however, wiſhed to ſave appearances. That they might not be thought to countenance a foul tranſaction, which might afterwards provoke the emperor to iſſue contrary orders, it was agreed to ſend diſpatches to Pharaſmanes, requiring him forthwith to evacuate Armenia, and recall his ſon.

XLIX. In that juncture Julius Pelignus, with the title of procurator, commanded in Cappadocia; a man, whom all orders of the people beheld with contempt and deriſion. The deformity of his perſon excited ridicule, and the qualities of his mind correſponded with his outward figure. He had lived, notwithſtanding, in the cloſeſt intimacy with Claudius, at the time when that prince, as yet a private man, paſſed the hours of a ſtupid and liſtleſs life in the company of buffoons. Pelignus, in a fit of vain-glory, undertook to recover Armenia. Having drawn together the auxiliaries of the province, he marched at the head of his forces, and, in his route, plundered the allies, as if the war was with them, inſtead of the Iberians. Haraſſed by the ſudden incurſions of the barbarians, and deſerted by his followers, he was left without reſource. In that diſtreſs, he fled to Rhadamiſtus. Bribery ſoon purchaſed a man of his deſcription. He adviſed the prince to aſſume the regal diadem, and aſſiſted, under arms, at the coronation, at once the author of the meaſure, and the ſoldier to ſupport it. A proceeding ſo vile and infamous could not be long unknown to the eaſtern nations. The

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character of the Roman generals might, by conſequence, ſink into contempt; and therefore, to wipe off the diſgrace, Helvidius Priſcus was ſent at the head of a legion, with orders to act as exigencies might require. That officer preſſed forward with expedition. He paſſed mount Taurus, and, in the courſe of his march, reſtored the public tranquillity, not ſo much by the terror of his arms as by the wiſdom and moderation of his councils. There was reaſon, however, to fear that his approach would give jealouſy to the Parthians. To avoid a rupture with that people, Helvidius was ordered to return with his army into Syria.

L. Vologeses thought it a fair opportunity to recover the kingdom of Armenia. His anceſtors had ſwayed the ſceptre of that country, and now a foreign invader, by guilt and treachery, uſurped the crown. The Parthian king ſaw his own brother Tiridates deprived of power. His pride could not brook that any part of his family ſhould be left in that humble condition. Determined to dethrone the uſurper, and inveſt his brother Tiridates with the regal diadem, he put himſelf at the head of a powerful army. The Iberians, without hazarding a battle, fled before the Parthian monarch. Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two principal cities of Armenia, opened their gates to the invader. The inclemency of the winter ſeaſon, and the want of due attention to provide for the ſubſiſtence of an army, brought on a famine, and, by conſequence, an epidemic diſeaſe. Vologeſes was obliged to abandon his enterpriſe. Armenia was once more left defenceleſs. Rhadamiſtus ſeized his opportunity, and returned to his dominions, elate with pride, and fired with reſentment againſt a people who had already betrayed him, and with their national inconſtancy were ready on the firſt occaſion to repeat their treachery. He mounted the throne;

but the people, though inured to ſervitude, grew impatient of the yoke. They reſolved to depoſe the uſurper, and in a body ruſhed forward, ſword in hand, to inveſt the palace.

LI. RHADAMISTUS was obliged to conſult his ſafety by flight. He eſcaped with his wife, and both owed their lives to the ſpeed of their horſes. The queen was far advanced in her pregnancy. Her dread of the enemy, conſpiring with conjugal affection, ſerved to animate her in the firſt hurry of their flight. She bore the fatigue with wonderful reſolution. Her condition, however, was too feeble for the violence of ſo rapid a motion. Seized with pains in her womb, and unable to hold out longer, ſhe intreated her huſband to end her miſery, and, by an honourable death, prevent the inſults of impending bondage. Rhadamiſtus was diſtracted by the violence of contending paſſions; he claſped her in his arms; he ſupported her drooping ſpirits, and, by every tender perſuaſion, exhorted her to perſevere. Her virtue charmed him, and the idea of leaving her to the embraces of another, pierced him to the quick. In a fit of deſpair and love, he drew his ſcymitar, and, with a hand already imbrued in blood, wounded the idol of his heart. In that condition he dragged her to the margin of the Araxes, and daſhed her into the river, that her body might be carried away by the current, and never fall into the hands of his enemies. Having thus diſpoſed of his wife, he fled towards Iberia, and purſued his way to his father's court.

Meanwhile, Zenobia (ſo the princeſs was named), floating gently down the ſtream, was ſeen by the ſhepherds on the ſmooth ſurface of the water, ſtruggling in diſtreſs, and ſtill with manifeſt ſigns of life. The elegance and dignity of her form announced a perſon of illuſtrious rank. They bound up her

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wounds, and gave her the phyſic of the field. Having ſoon after learned her name, and the ſtory of her ſufferings, they conveyed her to the city of Artaxata. From that place ſhe was conducted, at the public expence, to the court of Tiridates, where ſhe was graciouſly received, and treated with all the marks of royalty.

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LII. DURING the conſulſhip of Fauſtus Sylla and Salvius Otho, an accuſation was ſet on foot againſt Furius Scribonianus. He was charged with having conſulted the Chaldæans about the length of the emperor's reign, and condemned to baniſhment. Junia his mother, who had been formerly driven into exile, was accuſed of harbouring reſentment, and ſtill feeling with indignation the ſeverity of her fate. Her huſband Camillus, the father of Scribonianus, had levied war in Dalmatia, and obtained his pardon. From that circumſtance, and, in the preſent caſe, from a ſecond inſtance of clemency to a diſaffected family, Claudius took occaſion to boaſt of his moderation. The unhappy exile did not long ſurvive his ſentence; but whether he died by poiſon, or a natural death, cannot now be known. Reports were various at the time. The aſtrologers and mathematicians were baniſhed out of Italy, by a decree of the ſenate, full of rigour, but ending in nothing. In a ſpeech to the fathers Claudius beſtowed great commendation on ſuch of the members of that aſſembly as abdicated their rank on account of their narrow circumſtances. Some were unwilling to withdraw their names, but they were all degraded as obſtinate men, who to their poverty added pride and inſolence.

LIII. DURING theſe tranſactions, a motion was made in the ſenate for a law to inflict certain penalties on ſuch women as ſhould diſparage themſelves by intermarrying with ſlaves. The

ſenate decreed, that all who deſcended to ſo mean an act, without the conſent of the maſter of the ſlave, ſhould be conſidered as perſons who had forfeited their rank, and paſſed into a ſtate of ſlavery; if the maſter conſented, his approbation ſhould operate as a manumiſſion only. The honour of this regulation the emperor aſcribed to Pallas, and thereupon Barea Soranus, conſul elect, moved, that the author of ſo wiſe a meaſure ſhould be rewarded with prætorian ornaments, and a ſum of fifteen million of ſeſterces. By way of amendment to the motion, Cornelius Scipio propoſed that public thanks ſhould be given to a man, who derived his origin from the ancient kings of Arcadia, and, notwithſtanding the dignity of his rank, condeſcended to be claſſed among the miniſters of the emperor. Claudius informed the ſenate, that Pallas was content with honours, and felt no ambition to emerge from his ſtate of poverty. A decree was engraved on braſs *(a)*, exhibiting to the public eye a panegyric on the moderation of a manumitted ſlave, who had amaſſed no leſs than three hundred million of ſeſterces, and, with that ſum in his pocket, could give ſo ſtriking an example of ancient parſimony.

LIV. PALLAS had a brother known by the name of Felix, who had been for ſome time governor of Judæa. This man did not think it neceſſary to preſcribe any reſtraint to his own deſires. He conſidered his connection with the emperor's favourite as a licenſe for the worſt of crimes. The Jews, it is true, with a ſpirit little ſhort of open rebellion, had refuſed, in the reign of Caligula, to place the ſtatue of that emperor in the temple. Intelligence of his death arrived ſoon after; but even that event was not ſufficient to allay the ferment. Future princes might have the ſame ambition, and the dread of a ſimilar order kept the province in agitation. Felix inflamed the diſcontents

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of the people by improper remedies; and Ventidius Cumanus, to whom a part of the province was committed, was ready to co-operate in any wicked project. The Galilæans were under the controul of Cumanus; Felix governed the Samaritans. Thoſe two nations, always fierce and turbulent, were at variance with each other, and now, when they deſpiſed their governors, their animoſity broke out with redoubled fury.

They waged a predatory war; laid waſte each others lands, ruſhed from their ambuſcade to ſudden encounters, and, at times, tried their ſtrength in regular engagements. The plunder of the war was given up to their rapacious governors, who, therefore, connived at the miſchief. The diſorders of the province grew to an alarming height, inſomuch that the two governors were forced, at laſt, to have recourſe to arms in order to quell the tumult. The Jews reſiſted, and numbers of the Roman ſoldiers were maſſacred in the fray. Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, ſaw the danger of an impending war, and, to reſtore the public tranquillity, advanced at the head of his forces. The inſurgents, who roſe in arms againſt the Roman ſoldiers, were puniſhed with death. That meaſure was ſoon decided; but the conduct of Felix and Cumanus held the general in ſuſpenſe. Claudius, duly appriſed of the rebellion, and the cauſes from which it ſprung, ſent a commiſſion directing an inquiry, with power to try and pronounce judgment on the two provincial miniſters. To make an end of all difficulties, Quadratus placed Felix on the tribunal among the judges, and, by that meaſure, ſheltered him from his enemies. Cumanus was found guilty of the crimes committed by both, and in this manner the peace of the province was reſtored.

LV. CILICIA was ſoon after thrown into convulſions. The peaſants

peaſants of that country, known by the name of the Clitæans *(a)*, a wild and ſavage race, inured to plunder and ſudden commotions, aſſembled under Troſobor, a warlike chief, and pitched their camp on the ſummit of a mountain, ſteep, craggy, and almoſt inacceſſible. From their faſtneſſes they came ruſhing down on the plain, and, ſtretching along the coaſt, attacked the neighbouring cities. They plundered the people, robbed the merchants, and utterly ruined navigation and commerce. They laid ſiege to the city of Anemurium, and diſperſed a body of horſe, ſent from Syria, under Curtius Severus, to the relief of the place. With that detachment the freebooters dared to hazard battle. The ground being rugged, diſadvantageous to cavalry, and convenient only to foot ſoldiers, the Romans were totally routed. At length Antiochus, the reigning king of the country, appeaſed the inſurrection. By popular arts he gained the good will of the multitude, and proceeded by ſtratagem againſt their leader. The confederates being ruined by diſunion among themſelves, Troſobor, with his principal adherents, was put to death. By conciliating meaſures the reſt were brought to a ſenſe of their duty.

LVI. It was about this time, that between the lake Fucinus and the river Liris *(a)*, a paſſage was cut through a mountain. That a work of ſuch magnificence *(b)* ſhould be ſeen to advantage, Claudius exhibited on the lake a naval engagement, in imitation of Auguſtus, who formed an artificial baſon on the banks of the Tiber, and gave a ſpectacle of the ſame kind, but with lighter veſſels, and an inferior number of mariners. Ships of three and even four ranks of oars were equipped by Claudius, with no leſs than nineteen thouſand armed men on board. To prevent a deviation from the fight, the lake was fenced round with rafts of timber *(c)*, leaving the intermediate ſpace wide enough

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enough to give free play to the oars; ample room for the pilots to diſplay their ſkill, and, in the attack, to exhibit the various operations of a ſea fight. The prætorian guards ſtood on the rafts of timber, ranged in their ſeveral companies. In their front redoubts were raiſed, with proper engines for throwing up maſſy ſtones and all kinds of miſſive weapons. The reſt of the lake was aſſigned to the ſhips. The mariners and combatants filled the decks. An incredible multitude of ſpectators from the neighbouring towns, and even from Rome, attracted by the ſpectacle, or with a view to pay their court to the emperor, crowded round the borders of the lake. The banks, the riſing ground, the ridge of the adjacent hills, preſented to the eye a magnificent ſcene, in the form of an amphitheatre. Claudius and Agrippina preſided at the ſhow; the prince in a ſuperb coat of mail, and the empreſs in a ſplendid mantle, which was a complete tiſſue of entire gold *(d)*. The fleet was manned with malefactors; but the battle, nevertheleſs, was fought with heroic bravery. After many wounds, and a great effuſion of blood, to favour a ſet of men who had performed feats of valour, the ſurvivors were excuſed from fighting to deſtruction.

LVII. The whole of this magnificent ſpectacle being concluded, the channel through which the waters flowed was laid open, and then it appeared with what little ſkill the work was executed. The bed was not ſunk deep enough to gain a level either with the middle or the extremities of the lake. It was found neceſſary to clear away the ground, and give the current a freer courſe. The work was finiſhed with expedition, and, to attract a multitude of ſpectators, bridges were thrown over the lake, ſo conſtructed as to admit a foot engagement. On this prodigious platform a ſhow of gladiators was exhibited. Near the mouth of the lake a ſumptuous banquet was prepared; but the

the ſpot was ill-choſen. The weight of a vaſt body of water ruſhing down with irreſiſtible force, carried away the contiguous parts of the works, and ſhook the whole fabric. Confuſion and uproar filled the place. The roar of the torrent, and the noiſe of materials tumbling in, ſpread a general alarm. Claudius ſtood in aſtoniſhment. Agrippina ſeized the moment to accuſe Narciſſus, who had the direction of the whole. She imputed the miſchief to his avarice. The favourite made repriſals on the character of Agrippina, condemning, without reſerve, the impotence of a female ſpirit, her overbearing pride, and boundleſs ambition.

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LVIII. Decimus Junius and Quintus Haterius ſucceeded to the conſulſhip. In the courſe of the year Nero, who had attained the age of ſixteen, was joined in marriage to Octavia, the emperor's daughter. To grace his character with the fame of liberal ſcience and the powers of eloquence, he undertook the cauſe of the inhabitants of Ilium. The young orator began with a deduction of the Roman people from a Trojan origin. Æneas, the founder of the Julian family, and other paſſages drawn from antiquity, but in their nature fabulous, ſerved to embelliſh his diſcourſe. He ſucceeded for his clients, and obtained an entire exemption from impoſts of every kind. He was advocate alſo for the colony of the Bolognians, who had lately ſuffered by fire. By the rhetoric of their pleader they obtained a grant of one hundred thouſand ſeſterces. The Rhodians, in like manner, were obliged to his talents. That people, after many viciſſitudes, ſometimes in full poſſeſſion of their privileges, and occaſionally deprived of all, as they happened to be friendly or adverſe to the Roman arms, had their rights confirmed in the ampleſt manner. The city of Apamea, which had been damaged by an earthquake,

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quake, owed to the eloquence of their advocate a ſuſpenſion of all dues for the term of five years.

LIX. In a ſhort time after, the conduct of Claudius, under the management of the wife, preſented a contraſt of cruelty to all theſe acts of benevolence. Agrippina panted for the gardens of Statilius Taurus. He had been proconſul of Africa, and poſſeſſed a brilliant fortune. Tarquitius Priſcus had ſerved under him as his lieutenant. At the inſtigation of Agrippina, this man preferred a charge againſt his ſuperior officer, founded on ſome articles of extortion, but reſting chiefly on the practice of magic arts. Taurus was fired with indignation at the perfidy of his colleague. Seeing himſelf devoted to deſtruction, he reſolved not to wait the final ſentence, and with his own hand delivered himſelf from the malice of his enemies. The proſecutor was expelled the ſenate. The members of that aſſembly, deteſting the treachery of this vile informer, carried their point, in ſpite of the arts and ſecret influence of Agrippina.

LX. In the courſe of this year, the emperor gave to his favourite political maxim the force of a law. He had been often heard to ſay, "that the judicial reſolutions of the imperial pro-"curators ought to be, in their ſeveral provinces, of as high "authority as if they had been pronounced by himſelf." To ſhew that this was not ſpoken in vain, the doctrine was confirmed by a decree that carried the principle to a greater extent than ever. By a regulation made by Auguſtus, the Roman knights, who ruled the provinces of Ægypt, were empowered, in all caſes, to hear and determine with as full authority as the magiſtrates of Rome. The rule was afterwards extended to other provinces, and, even at Rome, the juriſdiction of the knights embraced a variety of queſtions, which till then were cognizable

cognizable by the prætor only. Claudius enlarged the powers of his favourites, and finally veſted in that body the judicial authority, which had been for ages the cauſe of civil commotions; for which the people had ſhed their blood; and which, in thoſe memorable ſtruggles, was given by the Sempronian law *(a)* to the equeſtrian order, till, in ſome time afterwards, the Servilian law reſtored it to the ſenate. In the wars between Marius and Sylla this was the cauſe of that fierce contention; but, in thoſe turbulent times, the different orders of the ſtate were engaged in factions againſt each other. The party that prevailed, called itſelf the Public, and made laws in the name of the commonwealth. Caius Oppius and Cornelius Balbus, ſupported by Auguſtus, were the firſt who decided the rights of war and peace. To mention, after them, the names of Matius, Vedius, and others of the equeſtrian order, ſeems now entirely needleſs; ſince we find the enfranchiſed ſlaves of Claudius, men no higher than mere domeſtic ſervants, raiſed to a level with the prince, and armed with the authority of the laws.

LXI. A GRANT to the people of Coos *(a)*, of a general immunity from taxes, was the next meaſure propoſed by the emperor. He introduced the queſtion with a ſplendid account of their ancient origin. "The Argives, or, at leaſt, Cœus, the father of "Latona, firſt ſettled on the iſland. Æſculapius arrived ſoon "after, and carried with him the invention of medicine. That "uſeful ſcience continued in his family through a long line of "deſcendants." He mentioned by name the ſeveral perſons in regular ſucceſſion, and the period of time in which they flouriſhed. He added, that Zenophon, his own phyſician, was deſcended from that illuſtrious family. The exemption, therefore, now requeſted by a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed eminence, ought to be granted, in favour of an iſland ſo famous in ſtory, to the end that the inha-

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bitants, free from every burthen, might dedicate themſelves altogether to the worſhip of their God. A more ſubſtantial plea of merit might have been urged in their favour. They could boaſt, with truth, of ſingular ſervices done to the Romans, and could ſet forth the victories obtained by their aſſiſtance; but Claudius, with his uſual facility, choſe to gratify the wiſhes of an individual, and, in his opinion, the favour which he conferred ought not to be varniſhed with conſiderations of a public nature.

LXII. THE deputies from Byzantium *(a)* were admitted to an audience before the ſenate. They prayed to be relieved from the heavy rates and duties under which they laboured. They relied on the merit of having been, for a length of time, the faithful allies of Rome. They traced the hiſtory of their ſervices from the war in Macedonia, when the king of that country, on account of his degenerate character, was called Pſeudophilippus, or Philip the Falſe *(b)*. They alleged, moreover, the ſuccours which they ſent againſt Antiochus *(c)*; againſt Perſes, and Ariſtonicus; the aſſiſtance, which they gave to Anthony *(d)* in the piratic war, and, afterwards, to Sylla, to Lucullus, and Pompey. Nor did they omit their zeal for the Cæſars at the time when they entered Byzantium, and found not only a free paſſage for their fleets and armies, but likewiſe a ſafe conveyance for their proviſions and military ſtores.

LXIII. BYZANTIUM, it is well known, ſtands at the extremity of Europe, on the narrow ſtrait that ſeparates Europe from Aſia. The city was built by the Greeks, who were led to the ſpot by the Pythian Apollo. They conſulted that oracle about the proper place for a new city, and received for anſwer, that they ſhould chooſe a foundation directly oppoſite to the territory of the blind. The advice, though dark and myſterious, pointed the people

people of Chalcedon *(a)*, the firſt adventurers in that part of the world, who had their opportunity to ſeize the beſt ſituation, and, through want of diſcernment, choſe the worſt. Byzantium enjoys many advantages: the ſoil is fertile, and the ſea abounds with fiſh, occaſioned by the prodigious ſhoals, that pour down from the Pontic ſea, and, to avoid the rocks which lurk beneath the waves on the Chalcedonian coaſt, make directly to the oppoſite ſhore, and fall into the bay of Byzantium. The fiſhery was at firſt a great branch of commerce. In proceſs of time, the trade was cramped by exceſſive impoſitions; and to be relieved, either by a total extinction, or, at leaſt, a reduction of the duties, was now the prayer of their petition. Claudius was inclined to favour their cauſe: in the late wars in Thrace and Boſphorus, they had ſuffered heavy loſſes; and it was, therefore, proper to grant them a compenſation. They were accordingly freed from all duties for the term of five years.

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LXIV. In the conſulſhip of Marcus Aſinius and Manius Acilius, a ſucceſſion of prodigies kept the minds of men in conſtant dread of ſome violent convulſion in the ſtate. The tents and enſigns of the ſoldiers were ſet on fire by a flaſh of lightning; a ſwarm of bees ſettled on the capitol; women were delivered of monſtrous births; and a pig, as ſoon as farrowed, had the talons of a hawk. It happened, at this time, that every order of the magiſtracy was ſhort of its proper number, the public having loſt by death, within a few months, a quæſtor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a conſul. This was reckoned among the prodigies. Amidſt the conſternation that covered the whole city, no perſon whatever was ſo ſeriouſly alarmed as Agrippina. Claudius, it ſeems, had ſaid in converſation, that, by ſome fatality, it had been his conſtant lot to bear, for a time, the irregularities of his wives, and in the end to puniſh them. The expreſſion fell from him in

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his liquor. Agrippina knew the force of it, and reſolved to take her meaſures beforehand. But Domitia Lepida, whom ſhe hated for female reaſons, was to be the firſt devoted victim. She was the daughter of the younger Antonia, great niece to Auguſtus, and ſiſter to Cneius Domitius *(a)*, the firſt huſband of the empreſs. Proud of theſe advantages, Lepida conſidered herſelf no way inferior to the imperial conſort. Their age, their beauty, and their riches were nearly on a level; both of diſſolute manners, proud, fierce, laſcivious, and in their vices, no leſs than their views of ambition, determined rivals. Which of them ſhould have entire dominion over the mind of Nero, the aunt or the mother, was the point in diſpute between them. Lepida made her approaches to the young prince by affability and ſoftneſs of manners. Her liberality and endearing tenderneſs gained the affections of the prince. Agrippina behaved with the authority of a mother, eager to graſp the imperial dignity for her ſon, and, when ſhe gained it, unwilling to own him for her ſovereign.

LXV. A CHARGE was framed againſt Lepida, importing, "That "by magic arts ſhe aſpired to the emperor's bed, and, by neg- "lecting to bridle the inſolence of her numerous ſlaves in Cala- "bria, ſhe ſhewed herſelf an enemy to the peace of Italy." She was condemned to die. Narciſſus endeavoured to avert the ſentence; but his efforts were ineffectual. That miniſter had for ſome time beheld Agrippina with deep miſtruſt. He ſaw through her deſigns, and, to his ſelect friends, did not ſcruple to declare, "That whatever became of the ſucceſſion, whether it devolved on "Nero or Britannicus, the dilemma would either way be fatal to "himſelf. He was bound, however, to the emperor by ties of "gratitude, and in his ſervice was ready to lay down his life. It "was by his counſels that Silius and Meſſalina were both undone. "Should Nero ſeize the ſovereignty, the crimes of his mother

" might bring forward the ſame cataſtrophe; and if Britannicus " ſucceeded to the empire, with that prince he had no claim of " merit. At preſent, a ſtep-mother plans the ruin of the imperial " houſe. To look on in ſilence, and yield to her towering am- " bition, were a more flagitious crime, than to have connived at " the vices of the emperor's former wife. But the vices of the " former wife are now renewed by Agrippina. Her adulterous " commerce with Pallas is too well known; and it is equally " known, that her modeſty, her fame, her honour, and even her " perſon, all are ſubſervient to her ambition." Such was the language of Narciſſus. In the warmth of his emotions he embraced Britannicus; he hoped to ſee him grow up to man's eſtate; he fixed his eyes on the prince; he lifted up his hands to the gods, devoutly praying that he might live to cruſh the enemies of his father, even though all, who took an active part againſt his mother, ſhould be doomed to periſh with them.

LXVI. In the midſt of theſe diſtractions, Claudius was attacked by a fit of illneſs. For the recovery of his health he ſet out for Sinueſſa *(a)*, to try the effect of a milder air, and the ſalubrious waters of the place. Agrippina thought ſhe had now an opportunity to execute the black deſign which ſhe had long ſince harboured in her breaſt. Inſtruments of guilt were ready at her beck, but the choice of the poiſon was ſtill to be conſidered: if quick and ſudden in its operation, the treachery would be manifeſt: a ſlow corroſive would bring on a lingering death. In that caſe, the danger was, that the conſpiracy might, in the interval, be detected, or, in the weakneſs and decay of nature, the affections of a father might return, and plead in favour of Britannicus. She reſolved to try a compound of new and exquiſite ingredients, ſuch as would make directly to the brain, yet not bring on an immediate diſſolution. A perſon of well-known

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ſkill in the trade of poiſoning was choſen for the buſineſs. This was the famous Locuſta; a woman lately condemned as a dealer in clandeſtine practices, but reſerved among the inſtruments of ſtate to ſerve the purpoſes of dark ambition. By this tool of iniquity the mixture was prepared. The hand to adminiſter it was that of Halotus, the eunuch, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſerve the emperor's table, and taſte the viands for his maſter.

LXVII. The particulars of this black conſpiracy tranſpired in ſome time after, and found their way into the memoirs of the age. We are told by the writers of that day, that a palatable diſh of muſhrooms was the vehicle of the poiſon. The effect was not ſoon perceived. Through exceſs of wine or the ſtupidity of his nature, perhaps the ſtrength of his conſtitution, Claudius remained inſenſible. An effort of nature followed, and gave him ſome relief. Agrippina trembled for herſelf. To dare boldly was now her beſt expedient. Regardleſs of her fame, and all that report could ſpread abroad, ſhe had recourſe to Zenophon, the phyſician, whom ſhe had ſeduced to her intereſt. Under pretence of aſſiſting Claudius to unload his ſtomach, this man, it is ſaid, made uſe of a feather tinged with the moſt ſubtle poiſon, and with that inſtrument ſearched the emperor's throat. With the true ſpirit of an aſſaſſin he knew, that, in atrocious deeds, a feeble attempt ſerves only to confound the guilty, while the deed, executed with courage, conſummates all, and is ſure to earn the wages of iniquity.

LXVIII. Meanwhile, the ſenate was convened, and, though the emperor had breathed his laſt, the conſuls and the pontiffs joined in vows and ſupplications for his recovery. Medical preparations were ſtill applied to a lifeleſs body, and the farce of attending the ſick was continued, till proper meaſures were taken for the ſucceſ-

ſion of Nero. Agrippina, with a dejected mien, affected to ſink under the weight of affliction. She looked round for conſolation, and ſeeing Britannicus, ſhe folded him in her arms, and called him, with expreſſions of tenderneſs, the image of his father. She detained him with fond careſſes, and never ſuffered him to leave the apartment. With the ſame deceitful arts ſhe contrived to decoy his two ſiſters, Antonia and Octavia. The avenues of the palace were cloſely guarded, and, at intervals, favourable accounts of the emperor were iſſued, the better to keep every thing in ſuſpenſe, and amuſe the hopes and fears of the ſoldiers, till the arrival of the propitious moment, promiſed by the Chaldæan aſtrologers.

LXIX. At length, on the third day before the ides of October *(a)*, about noon, the palace gates were thrown open. A prætorian cohort, as uſual, was drawn up under arms. Nero, attended by Burrhus, made his appearance, and, on a ſignal given by the commanding officer, the ſoldiers received him with ſhouts and acclamations. He was immediately put into a litter. Some of the ſoldiers, we are told, even in that ſcene of joy and uproar, looked around for Britannicus, and aſked in vain for that unfortunate prince. None of his party appearing, they yielded to the impulſe of the moment. Nero was conveyed to the camp. He addreſſed the ſoldiers in a ſpeech ſuited to the occaſion, and promiſed a donative, equal to the liberality of his deceaſed father. He was proclaimed Emperor of Rome. The voice of the army was confirmed by the ſenate. The provinces acquieſced without reluctance. Divine honours were decreed to the memory of Claudius, and funeral ceremonies, not inferior to the magnificence that attended the remains of Auguſtus. In this article, Agrippina was willing to vie with the pomp diſplayed by her great-grandmother Livia. The will of the deceaſed emperor

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peror was not read in public. The preference given to the ſon of his wife, in prejudice to the rights of his own immediate iſſue, might raiſe a ſpirit of diſcontent, and alienate the affections of the people.

END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS

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Theſe tranſactions paſſed in four years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls
808	55	*The emperor Nero, L. Antiſtius Vetus.*
809	56	*Q. Voluſius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio.*
810	57	*Nero, 2d time, L. Calpurnius Piſo.*
811	58	*Nero, 3d time, Valerius Meſſala.*

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I. THE new reign opened with the murder of Junius Silanus *(a)*, proconſul of Aſia. The deed was perpetrated, by the contrivance of Agrippina, without the knowledge of Nero. In the character and conduct of Silanus there was nothing that could provoke his fate. Under the preceding emperors he had led a life ſo inactive, that he fell into contempt, and was called by Caligula, "The Golden Calf." But Agrippina had cut off his brother Lucius Silanus, and lived in fear of the vengeance due to her crime. Her ſon Nero, not yet arrived at years of diſcretion, was raiſed by her treacherous arts to the ſovereign power, and, in oppoſition to that meaſure, the public voice was loud in favour of Silanus, a man every way qualified, of an underſtand-

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derſtanding matured by years, an unblemiſhed character, by his birth illuſtrious, and (what was then of great importance) deſcended from the houſe of Cæſar. Silanus, in fact, was the great grandſon of Auguſtus. Theſe circumſtances conſpired to work his ruin. The actors in this dark tranſaction were Publius Celer, a Roman knight, and Helius, an enfranchiſed ſlave; both employed in Aſia to collect the revenues of the prince. At a public feaſt thoſe two conſpirators adminiſtered a doſe of poiſon to the proconſul with ſo little precaution, that ſecreſy did not ſeem to be worth their care. The murder of Narciſſus, the freedman of Claudius, was diſpatched with as little ceremony. The quarrel between him and Agrippina *(b)* has been already ſtated. He was thrown into priſon, and there confined in cloſe and rigorous cuſtody, till, driven to the extremity of want, he put an end to his miſery with his own hand. Nero wiſhed to prolong his days. The ſecret vices of the prince, though they had not then broke out into action, inclined him, by a wonderful bias of nature, to favour a man in whoſe avarice and prodigality he ſaw the counterpart of himſelf.

II. A NUMBER of other victims were marked for deſtruction; and Rome would have been a theatre of blood, had not Afranius Burrhus and Annæus Seneca prevented the impending danger. The education of the emperor had been committed to thoſe two miniſters; both high in power, and yet (uncommon as it is) free from jealouſy; poſſeſſing different talents, united by ſentiment, and each, in his peculiar province, of great conſideration. Burrhus gave the prince inſtructions in the military ſcience, and the auſterity of his manners added weight to his precepts. Seneca taught the principles of eloquence, and charmed by the ſuavity of his manners. The two preceptors exerted their joint endeavours to fix in the prince's mind the principles of virtue, or,

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if that could not be, to reſtrain his youthful paſſions, and, by moderate indulgence, infuſe into his mind a taſte for elegant, if not innocent pleaſures.

Agrippina threw difficulties in their way. Fierce with all the paſſions that attend inordinate ambition, ſhe was ſupported, in her worſt deſigns, by Pallas, that pernicious favourite, who incited Claudius to an inceſtuous marriage, and adviſed the adoption of Nero; two fatal meaſures, by which that emperor was precipitated to his ruin. But it was not in the temper or genius of Nero to bend to the politics of a freedman; on the other hand, the arrogance of Pallas, who aſpired above himſelf, gave diſguſt to the prince. Public honours, in the mean time, were beſtowed with a laviſh hand on the emperor's mother. To a tribune, who, according to the military practice, aſked for the word, Nero gave "THE BEST OF MOTHERS." Two lictors, by a decree of the ſenate, were ordered to attend her perſon. She was, at the ſame time, declared the prieſteſs of Claudius. The funeral of that prince was performed with all the pomp of cenſorial obſequies. He was, afterwards, added to the number of the gods.

III. NERO pronounced the funeral oration. He repreſented, in the brighteſt colours, the illuſtrious birth of the deceaſed emperor, the number of his conſulſhips, and the triumphal honours of his anceſtors. On thoſe topics he dwelt with propriety, and commanded attention. The taſte of Claudius for the liberal arts, and the undiſturbed tranquillity that prevailed throughout his reign, afforded ample room for panegyric, and the orator was heard with pleaſure. But when the judgment and political wiſdom of Claudius were mentioned with praiſe and decorations of language, the ridicule was too ſtrong, and none could refrain from

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from laughter. And yet the ſpeech was written by Seneca, in a ſtyle of elegance peculiar to that amiable writer, who poſſeſſed a vein of wit and fancy, that charmed the taſte of the age in which he lived. It was obſerved, on this occaſion, by men advanced in life, who love, at leiſure, to compare the paſt with the preſent times, that of all the emperors, Nero was the firſt, who was content to be the organ of another's eloquence. In Cæſar the dictator the moſt eminent orators found an illuſtrious rival. Auguſtus had a flow of language, eaſy, clear, and copious, well ſuited to the dignity of a prince. Preciſion was the talent of Tiberius; and if his meaning was ſometimes obſcure, it was when he choſe to be dark and impenetrable. The confuſed and turbulent genius of Caligula did not transfuſe itſelf into his diſcourſe. Even in Claudius, when he came with a ſpeech prepared and ſtudied, there was no want of elegance. Nero, in the prime of life, took a different turn, and, with lively parts, applied himſelf to other objects. Engraving *(a)*, painting, muſic, and horſemanſhip were his favourite purſuits. At intervals he was fond of poetry, and his verſes ſhewed that he had, at leaſt, a tincture of letters.

IV. HAVING played the part of a public mourner, Nero made his appearance in the ſenate. He began with a florid compliment to the authority of the fathers, and the concurrent ſuffrages of the army, which raiſed him to the imperial dignity. He added, "that he had many bright examples to excite emu-" lation, and in his councils ſuperior wiſdom to direct his con-" duct. His youth had not been engaged in civil commotions, " and to the rage of contending factions he was, by conſequence, " an utter ſtranger. He brought with him no private animo-" ſity, no ſenſe of injuries, no motives to inſpire revenge. He " explained the ſyſtem of government, which he intended to " purſue;

" purſue; the abuſes which occaſioned diſcontent and murmur-
" ings in the former reign, were to be reformed altogether; and,
" in particular, the deciſion of cauſes, he was determined, ſhould
" no longer depend on the authority of the prince. The
" practice of hearing in a chamber of the palace *(a)* the accuſer
" and the accuſed, and thereby ſubjecting the lives and fortunes
" of men to the influence of a few favourites, was to be abo-
" liſhed. In his palace nothing ſhould be venal; nothing car-
" ried by intrigue, by bribery, or ſecret influence. The revenues
" of the prince, and the public treaſure, ſhould be diſtinct and
" ſeparate rights. The ſenate might retain the full exerciſe of
" the powers veſted in that aſſembly by the ſpirit of the con-
" ſtitution. Italy and the provinces might, in all caſes, addreſs
" themſelves to the tribunal of the conſuls, and, through that
" channel, find their way to the ſenate. The executive power
" over the army was his peculiar province, and he claimed no
" more *(b)*."

V. The promiſe was fair, and for ſome time regularly obſerved. The fathers of their own authority made ſeveral regulations, and among other things ordained, that no advocate ſhould hire out his talents in any cauſe whatever. The law requiring *(a)* a ſpectacle of gladiators from ſuch as were choſen to the office of quæſtor, was entirely abrogated. To theſe reſolutions, tending, in effect, to repeal the acts of Claudius, Agrippina made a ſtrong oppoſition. In order to carry her point, ſhe cauſed the ſenate to be convened in the palace, where, at a convenient ſtation at the door behind the arras, ſhe might conceal her perſon, and overhear the debate. The fathers acted with a ſpirit of independance, and a decree was paſſed accordingly. On a ſubſequent occaſion the ambaſſadors of Armenia were admitted to an audience before the prince. Agrippina advanced

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to the tribunal to take her ſeat, and preſide with joint authority. All who beheld the ſcene were ſtruck with terror and amazement, when Seneca, in the general confuſion, had the preſence of mind to bid the emperor ſtep forward to meet his mother. Under an appearance of filial piety, the honour of the ſtate was ſaved.

VI. TOWARDS the end of the year, a report prevailed that the Parthians had once more invaded Armenia, and that Rhadamiſtus, tired of a kingdom ſo often taken and retaken, declined to end the diſpute by force of arms. At Rome, where public affairs were diſcuſſed with freedom, the popular opinion was, "that Nero, young in life, juſt out of his ſeventeenth "year, would not be equal to a conjuncture ſo arduous and im- "portant. What dependance could be had on the flexibility "of a boy, ſtill under the government of his mother? He had "tutors, indeed; but would they undertake the command of "armies, the conduct of ſieges, and all the various operations "of war?" It was argued on the other hand, "that the ſituation of affairs was better than it could have been under a "prince like Claudius, worn out with age, and ſunk in ſloth, "the willing dupe of his favourite freedmen. Burrhus and "Seneca were men of experience: and, with ſuch adviſers, why "conclude that Nero, bordering on the ſeaſon of manly vigour, "was unequal to the taſk? Pompey, at the age of eighteen, and "Octavianus Cæſar, having barely paſſed his nineteenthyear, were "both at the head of armies, in times big with danger, amidſt "the diſtractions of a civil war. It is by the wiſdom of their "councils, and not by perſonal valour, that princes are crowned "with glory. Whether the cabinet of Nero was filled with evil "counſellors, or with men of talents and integrity, would ſoon "be evident. If the emperor, without regarding party con-

"nections

" nections and court intrigue, chose a general, not on account " of his wealth and interest, but for his military character, the " question would be then fairly decided."

VII. While these different opinions kept the public mind in agitation, Nero ordered levies to be made in the eastern nations, and the legions, thus recruited, to take post on the confines of Armenia. He desired, at the same time, that Agrippa *(a)* and Antiochus, two oriental kings, should hold their forces in readiness to enter the territory of the Parthians. For the convenience of his armies bridges were thrown over the Euphrates. The lesser Armenia *(b)* was committed to Aristobulus, and the country called Sophenes *(c)* to Sohemus: both princes were allowed to assume the ensigns of royalty. In this crisis a fortunate circumstance gave a sudden turn in favour of Rome. Vardanes, the son of Vologeses, became a competitor for the crown in opposition to his father. The Parthians were, by consequence, obliged to recall their armies, and under colour of deferring, not of abandoning the war, Armenia was evacuated.

VIII. The fathers extolled these transactions with their usual strain of flattery. They voted that prayers and public thanksgivings should be offered to the gods, and that during the solemnity Nero, adorned with a triumphal robe, should enter the city with all the splendour of an ovation. It was farther resolved, that in the temple of Mars the Avenger a statue should be erected to the prince, in form and dimension equal to that of the god. Amidst this servile adulation, the appointment of Domitius Corbulo to the command of the army in Armenia, gave universal satisfaction. The road to preferment, men began to hope, would, from that time, be open to talents and superior merit. By the arrangement which was settled

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in the eaſt, part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were ſtationed in Syria, under the command of Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of that province. An equal number of legionary ſoldiers and allies, beſides the cohorts and light troops that wintered in Cappadocia, were aſſigned to Corbulo. The kings in alliance with Rome had directions to co-operate with thoſe generals, as the events of war ſhould happen to require. Corbulo was high in favour with the princes of the eaſt. Aware that fame, in the beginning of all military operations, makes a deep impreſſion, that general advanced by rapid journeys, and at Ægea *(a)*, a city of Cilicia, met Quadratus, who choſe an interview at that place, rather than wait till Corbulo ſhewed himſelf at the head of his army in the province of Syria, where he had reaſon to fear that the eyes of the people would be fixed on his rival in command. The fact was, Corbulo poſſeſſed many advantages: in his perſon manly, of a remarkable ſtature, and in his diſcourſe magnificent, he united with experience and conſummate wiſdom thoſe exterior accompliſhments, which, though in themſelves of no real value, give an air of elegance even to trifles.

IX. The two commanders ſent a joint meſſage to Vologeſes, warning him to prefer the ſweets of peace to the calamities of war, and, by ſending hoſtages, to mark his reſpect for the Roman name. The Parthian monarch, intending to wait for a more favourable opportunity, or, perhaps, wiſhing to remove from his court his moſt dangerous enemies, gave up as hoſtages the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the line of the Arſacides. Hiſterius, a centurion, ſent by Quadratus with orders to travel with expedition, received the hoſtages under his care; but Corbulo, appriſed of this artful project, diſpatched Arrius Varus, the commander of a cohort, to claim the care and cuſtody of the Parthian

thian nobles. The centurion reſiſted. A warm diſpute enſued between the two officers, till, at length, that they might not exhibit a ridiculous ſcene to foreign nations, the matter was referred to the deciſion of the hoſtages themſelves, and the ambaſſadors who accompanied them. The Parthians, ſtruck with the recent fame of the commander in chief, and, as often happens even among enemies, conceiving the higheſt reſpect for his perſon, gave the preference to Corbulo. Hence a new ſource of diſcord between the two generals. Quadratus complained, that the honour which he had acquired was unfairly wreſted from him. Corbulo maintained his right, inſiſting that the idea of delivering up hoſtages had never occurred to Vologeſes, till ſuch time as his hopes were humbled by the name of the ſuperior officer who had the conduct of the war. To appeaſe their jealouſy, Nero iſſued an order, that on account of the proſperous events achieved by the conduct of both generals, the imperial faſces under each of them ſhould be decorated with wreaths of laurel. Theſe tranſactions happened in different years; but, for the ſake of perſpicuity, they are here related in one connected ſeries.

X. In the courſe of the ſame year, Nero deſired that by a decree of the ſenate a ſtatue might be erected to his father Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, and that Aſconius Labeo, his former tutor, might be honoured with the conſular ornaments. The ſenate propoſed, that ſtatues of ſolid gold or ſilver ſhould be erected in honour of the prince; but Nero had the modeſty to reject the offer. A law was alſo in agitation, by which the year was to begin from December, the month in which Nero was born. This too was over-ruled. The emperor reſolved to continue the old ſtyle, dating the year from the calends of January; a day rendered ſacred by the eſtabliſhed religion of the Romans.

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Romans. An attempt was made to arraign Carinas Celer, a member of the ſenate, and Julius Denſus, of the equeſtrian order. The firſt was accuſed by his ſlave; the crime objected to the latter was his attachment to Britannicus. Both proſecutions were ſuppreſſed by order of the emperor.

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XI. NERO and Lucius Antiſtius were the next conſuls. During the ſolemnity of ſwearing the magiſtrates, according to cuſtom, on the acts of the emperor, Antiſtius had it in command not to include in his oath the acts of the reigning prince; an inſtance of modeſty and ſelf-denial, which the fathers thought could not be too highly commended. They were laviſh of praiſe, in hopes that the ſenſe of honeſt fame, even in matters of little moment, implanted early in the mind of a young man, might ſhoot up to a principle of honour, and the love of ſolid glory. In a ſhort time after, Nero diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an act of clemency in the caſe of Plautius Lateranus *(a)*, who, for his criminal intrigues with Meſſalina, had been expelled the ſenate. The emperor reſtored him to his rank. He even bound himſelf to obſerve throughout his reign the virtues of humanity. This promiſe he renewed in ſeveral ſpeeches prepared for him by the pen of Seneca, and probably written to diſplay the moral leſſons which the philoſopher taught, or to ſhew the brilliant talents of that lively writer.

XII. THE authority of Agrippina was now on the decline. An enfranchiſed female ſlave of the name of ACTE *(a)* had gained an entire aſcendant over the affections of the prince. To conduct this intrigue, Nero choſe Otho *(b)* and Claudius Senecio for his confidential friends; the former deſcended from a family of conſular rank; the latter, the ſon of a freedman belonging to the late emperor. They were both elegant in their perſons. Their

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Their taſte for debauchery and clandeſtine vices introduced them to the notice of the prince. Their firſt approaches to his friendſhip were unperceived by Agrippina: ſhe endeavoured afterwards to remove them from his preſence, but her efforts were without effect. The emperor's friends, though famed for wiſdom and the ſeverity of their manners, made no oppoſition to his new intrigue. A courteſan, who gratified the ardour of a young man's paſſion, without injury to any perſon whatever, was thought an object of no importance. Nero, it is true, was married to Octavia; but neither the nobility of her birth, nor her unſpotted virtue, could ſecure his affections. By ſome fatality, or, perhaps, by the ſecret charm of forbidden pleaſures, his heart was alienated from his wife. The connection with his favourite concubine ſerved to reſtrain the prince from other purſuits; and there was reaſon to fear, that, detached from her, he might riot in ſcenes of higher life, and deſtroy the peace and honour of the nobleſt families.

XIII. Agrippina was fired with indignation. She complained aloud that an enfranchiſed ſlave was put in competition with the emperor's mother, and a wretch of mean extraction was to be treated as her daughter-in-law. She ſtormed with all the rage of female pride, never reflecting that the prince might ſee his error, or that ſatiety and cold indifference might, in time, ſucceed to the vehemence of youthful paſſion. The haughty ſpirit of the mother ſerved only to inflame the ardour of her ſon. He gave a looſe to love, and threw off all regard for his mother, determined, for the future, to yield to no authority but that of Seneca. Among the friends of that miniſter was a man of the name of Annæus Serenus *(a)*, who pretended to admire the perſon of Acte, and, to throw a veil over the growing paſſion of Nero, conveyed to her, in his own name, the preſents

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ſent by the ſecret gallantry of the prince. Agrippina thought it time to abate from her ferocity. She had recourſe to art, and hoped by gentle methods to regain her influence. Her own apartment was now at her ſon's ſervice. Love, at his time of life, was natural, and his ſuperior rank demanded ſome indulgence. Under the care and management of his mother he might enjoy his ſecret pleaſures. She apologized for the warmth with which ſhe broke out at firſt, and even made an offer of all her treaſure, little inferior to imperial riches. Her conduct was always in extremes; violent in the beginning, and in the end too complying.

A tranſition ſo ſudden did not eſcape the obſervation of Nero. His confidential friends were alarmed. Dreading nothing ſo much as the return of Agrippina's influence, they cautioned the prince not to be the dupe of a woman, who, in reality, abated nothing from the pride and arrogance of her character, though now ſhe played an humble, but inſidious part. It happened at this time that Nero examined a rich wardrobe, appropriated to the uſe of the mothers and wives of the emperors. He ſelected a ſplendid dreſs and a conſiderable quantity of jewels. Theſe he ordered to be preſented to Agrippina. The things were gay and magnificent, the kind of ornaments that pleaſe the taſte and vanity of women, and, being unaſked and unexpected, they were ſent with a better grace. Agrippina conſtrued this civility into an affront. The deſign, ſhe ſaid, was not to adorn her perſon, but to deprive her of the reſt of thoſe valuable effects. Her ſon affected to divide with his mother what he owed entirely to her protection. Her words were reported to the emperor with additional malice.

XIV. In order, by a ſudden blow, to humble Agrippina and

her party, Nero diſmiſſed Pallas *(a)* from all his employments. By the favour of Claudius this man had been raiſed to a degree of power that made him aſſume the air and importance of firſt miniſter, and ſovereign arbiter of the empire. As he withdrew from court with his train of followers, Nero pleaſantly ſaid, "Pallas is going to abdicate." Before he retired, it is certain that he had bargained for himſelf. It was agreed that no inquiry ſhould be had into his conduct, and that all accounts between him and the public ſhould be conſidered as cloſed and balanced. The indignation of Agrippina was not to be reſtrained: in a tone of menace ſhe endeavoured to intimidate her enemies; even in the emperor's hearing, ſhe exclaimed aloud, "Britan-" nicus is grown up, the genuine iſſue of Claudius, and every " way worthy of the ſucceſſion to his father. The ſovereignty " has been wreſted from him by an intruder, who owes his title " to adoption only, and now preſumes to trample on the rights " of a mother, who gave him all. But every thing ſhall be " brought to light: the misfortunes which ſhe herſelf had cauſed " in the imperial family, her inceſtuous marriage with her un-" cle, and the poiſon that put an end to his life; all ſhall be " diſcloſed, all laid open to the world. By the favour of the " gods Britannicus is ſtill alive: that reſource ſtill remains. " With that young prince ſhe would join the army: in the " camp ſhould be heard the daughter of Germanicus; Burrhus, " and Seneca, the famous exile, might preſent themſelves before " the prætorian ſoldiers; the firſt with his maimed hand, and " the ſecond, armed with his tropes and flowers of rhetoric; " both worthy miniſters, fit, in their own opinion, to govern " the Roman world." In this ſtrain ſhe raved with vehemence, brandiſhing her hands, and pouring out a torrent of invective. She appealed to the deified Claudius; ſhe invoked the manes of the murdered Silani, and of others who periſhed by her

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guilt, though now, in return for all, ſhe met with nothing but treachery and ingratitude.

XV. THESE violent declarations made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Nero. The birth-day of Britannicus, when that prince was to enter on his fifteenth year, was near at hand. This gave riſe to a number of reflections. The turbulent ſpirit of Agrippina, and the character of the prince, filled him with apprehenſions. On a late occaſion Britannicus had given a ſpecimen of early acuteneſs, ſlight, indeed, in itſelf, but ſuch as diſpoſed the people in his favour. It happened, during the Saturnalian feſtival *(a)*, that, among the diverſions uſual among young people, the play, "WHO SHALL BE KING *(b)*, became part of the amuſement at court. The lot fell to Nero: he impoſed his commands on the company, in no inſtance aiming at ridicule or inconvenience, till he came to Britannicus. He ordered the young prince to ſtand in the middle of the room, and ſing a ſong to the company. By this deviſe he hoped that a ſtripling, not yet accuſtomed even to ſober converſation, much leſs to revelry and the joys of wine, would be expoſed to deriſion. Britannicus performed his part without embaraſſment. His ſong *(c)* alluded to his own caſe, expreſſing the ſituation of a prince excluded from the throne of his anceſtors. The whole company felt a touch of compaſſion, and, in the moment of gaiety, when wine and the midnight hour had thrown off all diſſimulation, they expreſſed their feelings without diſguiſe. Nero found that his pleaſantry recoiled upon himſelf. Hatred, from that moment, took poſſeſſion of his heart. The furious and implacable ſpirit of Agrippina kept him in a conſtant alarm. No crime could be alleged againſt Britannicus, and, by conſequence, there was no colour to juſtify a public execution.

Nero reſolved to act by covert ſtratagem. A preparation of poiſon

poiſon was ordered, and Julius Pollio, a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, was called in as an accomplice. This man had in his cuſtody the famous Locuſta, a woman guilty of various crimes, and then under ſentence for the practice of adminiſtering poiſon. She was made an inſtrument in the conſpiracy. For ſome time before, care had been taken to admit none to the preſence of Britannicus, but ſuch as had long ſince renounced every principle of honour and of virtue. The firſt potion was given to Britannicus by his tutors; but being weak, or injudiciouſly qualified, it paſſed without effect. The ſlow progreſs of guilt did not ſuit the genius of Nero. He threatened the tribune, and was on the point of ordering the ſorcereſs to be put to death. He railed at both as two cowards in vice, who wiſhed to ſave appearances, and concert a defence for themſelves, while they left a dreadful interval, big with fear and danger. To appeaſe his wrath, they promiſed to prepare a doſe as ſure and deadly as the aſſaſſin's knife. In a room adjoining to the apartment of the emperor they mixed a draught, compounded of ingredients, whoſe ſure and rapid quality they had already experienced.

XVI. ACCORDING to the cuſtom at that time eſtabliſhed at court, the children of the imperial family dined, in a ſitting poſture, with the nobility of their own age, in ſight of their relations, at a table ſet apart, and ſerved with due frugality. Whenever Britannicus was, in this manner, ſeated at his meal, it was a ſettled rule that an attendant ſhould taſte his food and liquor. To preſerve this cuſtom, and prevent detection by the death of both, an innocent beverage, without any infuſion that could hurt, was tried by the proper officer, and preſented to the prince. He found it too hot, and returned it. Cold water, in which the poiſon had been mixed, was immediately poured into

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the cup. Britannicus drank freely; the effect was violent, and, in an inſtant, it ſeized the powers of life: his limbs were palſied, his breath was ſuppreſſed, and his utterance failed. The company were thrown into conſternation. Some ruſhed out of the room, while others, who had more diſcernment, ſtaid, but in aſtoniſhment, with their eyes fixed on Nero, who lay ſtretched at eaſe on his couch, with an air of innocence, and without emotion. He contented himſelf with calmly ſaying, "This is "one of the epileptic fits to which Britannicus has been ſubject "from his infancy. The diſorder will go off, and he will ſoon "recover his ſenſes." Agrippina was ſtruck with horror. She endeavoured to ſuppreſs her feelings; but the inward emotions were too ſtrong; they ſpoke in every feature, plainly ſhewing that ſhe was as innocent as Octavia, the ſiſter of Britannicus. By this horrible act the emperor's mother ſaw all her hopes at once cut off, and from ſo daring a ſtep, ſhe could even then foreſee that her ſon would wade in blood, and add to his crimes the horror of parricide. Octavia, though ſtill of tender years, had ſeen enough of courts to teach her the policy of ſmothering her grief, her tenderneſs, and every ſentiment of the heart. In this manner the ſcene of diſtraction ended, and the pleaſures of the table were renewed.

XVII. One and the ſame night ſaw the murder of Britannicus and his funeral. Both were preconcerted. Without expence, or any kind of pomp, the prince's remains were interred in the Field of Mars, under a ſhower of rain, which fell with ſuch violence, that it paſſed with the multitude as the ſure forerunner of divine vengeance on the authors of ſo foul a deed; a deed, notwithſtanding all its horrors, which many were inclined to think of with leſs ſeverity, when they conſidered that, from the earlieſt times, a ſpirit of jealouſy always ſubſiſted be-

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tween brothers, and that the nature of ſovereign power is ſuch, as not to endure a rival. From the writers of that period there is reaſon to conclude, that Nero, on various occaſions, had taken advantage of the tender years of Britannicus, and offered vile indignities to his perſon. If the anecdote be founded in truth, the death, which delivered a deſcendant of the Claudian line from foul diſgrace, cannot be deemed premature or cruel. The prince, it is true, died in the hour of hoſpitality, without warning, without time allowed to his ſiſter to take the laſt farewell; and his mortal enemy ſaw him in the pangs of death. After all his ſufferings, the poiſoned cup was mercy. The hurry with which the funeral was performed, was juſtified by Nero in a proclamation, ſtating the practice of the ancient Romans, who ordained with wiſdom, "That the bodies of ſuch as died in the "prime of life ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible, be removed from "the public eye, without waiting for funeral orations, and the "ſlow parade of pomp and ceremony. For himſelf, deprived as "he was of the aſſiſtance of a brother, he depended altogether "on the affections of the people, in full perſuaſion, that the ſe-"nate, and all orders of men, would exert their beſt endeavours "to ſupport a prince, who now remained the only branch of a "family born to rule the empire of the world." After this public declaration, his next care was, by large donations, to ſecure in his intereſt all his moſt powerful friends.

XVIII. The conduct of ſuch as were moſt diſtinguiſhed by the munificence of the emperor, did not paſs uncenſured. They were men who profeſſed integrity, and yet did not bluſh to take palaces *(a)*, country-ſeats, and extenſive lands, all equally willing to have ſhare of the plunder. By their apologiſts it was argued, that they could not avoid ſubmitting to the will of a prince, who knew the horror of his crimes, and hoped by his liberality

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to ſoften the public reſentment. Agrippina continued implacable. Indignation like hers was not to be appeaſed by preſents. She cheriſhed Octavia with the tendereſt regard; ſhe had frequent meetings with the leaders of her party; and, with more than her natural avarice, ſhe collected money in all quarters; ſhe courted the tribunes and centurions; and to the thin nobility, which then remained, ſhe paid every mark of reſpect, dwelling with pleaſure on their names, applauding their virtues, with a view to ſtrengthen her intereſt by a coalition of the firſt men in Rome. Nero was appriſed of all that paſſed. By his orders the ſentinels who guarded her gates (as had been done in the time of Claudius, and ſince his deceaſe) were all withdrawn. The German ſoldiers, who had been added by way of doing honour to the emperor's mother, were likewiſe diſmiſſed from her ſervice. Nor did the matter reſt here. To retrench the number of her adherents and viſitors, Nero reſolved to hold a ſeparate court. He aſſigned to his mother the manſion formerly occupied by Antonia. He viſited her in her new ſituation, but his viſits were a ſtate farce: he went with a train of attendants, and, after a ſhort ſalute, took his leave with cold civility.

XIX. In the maſs of human affairs there is nothing ſo vain and tranſitory as the fancied pre-eminence which depends on popular opinion, without a ſolid foundation to ſupport it. Of this truth Agrippina is a melancholy proof. Her houſe was deſerted; no friend to comfort her; no courtier to flutter at her levee; and none to viſit her, except a few women who frequented her houſe, perhaps with a good intention, or, more probably, with the little motives of female triumph. In the number was Junia Silana, formerly divorced, as has been mentioned, from Caius Silius, at the inſtigation of Meſſalina.. Since that time, ſhe became the intimate friend of Agrippina; by her birth illuſtrious,

illuſtrious, diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, and not leſs ſo by her laſcivious conduct. Her friendſhip for Agrippina, ſoured afterwards by contentions between themſelves, turned to bitter hatred. A treaty of marriage between Silana and Sextius Africanus, a citizen of illuſtrious rank, was rendered abortive by the ill offices of Agrippina. She told the lover, that his miſtreſs, though no longer in the prime of life, was of a diſſolute character, and ſtill abandoned to her vicious pleaſures. In this act of hoſtility love had no kind of ſhare. Agrippina had not ſo much as a wiſh for the perſon of Africanus; but Silana enjoyed large poſſeſſions, and being a widow without children, her whole fortune might devolve to the huſband.

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Silana, from that moment, was ſtung with reſentment. The ſeaſon for revenge ſhe thought was now arrived, and, for that purpoſe, ſhe employed Iturius and Calviſius, two of her creatures, to frame an accuſation againſt Agrippina, not on the ground of the old and threadbare ſtory about her grief for Britannicus, and her zeal for Octavia; but with a deeper intent, that revenge might have its full blow. The head of the accuſation was, That Agrippina had conſpired with Rubellius Plautus, a deſcendant of Auguſtus, by the maternal line in the ſame degree as Nero, to bring about a revolution, and, in that event, to marry the uſurper, and once more invade the commonwealth. With this charge, drawn up in form, Iturius and Calviſius ſought Atimetus, one of the freedmen of Domitia, the emperor's aunt. A fitter perſon could not be choſen: he knew the enmity that ſubſiſted between his miſtreſs and Agrippina, and, for that reaſon, liſtened eagerly to the information. Having heard the particulars, he employed Paris the comedian (who had likewiſe received his freedom from Domitia), and, by him, conveyed the whiſper to the emperor, with circumſtances of aggravation.

XX. The

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XX. The night was far advanced, and Nero paſſed the time in riot and gay carouſal, when Paris entered the apartment. In the prince's parties he had always been a pimp of pleaſure; but now, a meſſenger of ill news, he appeared with an air of dejection. He laid open the particulars of the charge. Nero heard him with diſmay and terror. In the firſt agitations of his mind he reſolved to diſpatch his mother, and Plautus, her accomplice. Burrhus was no longer to command the prætorian bands: he was the creature of Agrippina, raiſed at firſt by her influence, and in his heart a ſecret friend to her and her intereſt. If we may credit Fabius Ruſticus, a commiſſion was actually made out, and ſent to Cæcina Tuſcus; but recalled, at the requeſt of Seneca, who interpoſed to ſave his friend from diſgrace. According to Cluvius and Pliny, the honour of Burrhus was never called in queſtion. To ſay the truth, the authority of Fabius Ruſticus is not free from ſuſpicion. He flouriſhed under the protection of Seneca, and the gratitude of the writer embraces every opportunity to adorn the character of his patron.

The hiſtorical evidence is fairly before the reader, agreeably to the deſign of this work, which profeſſes to depend, at all times, on the teſtimony of authors, when they agree among themſelves; and, when they differ, to ſtate the points in diſpute, with the reaſons on each ſide. Nero was diſtracted with doubt and fear. In the tumult of his thoughts, he determined to diſpatch his mother without delay. Nor was his fury to be reſtrained till Burrhus pledged himſelf, if the charge was verified, to ſee execution done upon her; but to be heard in anſwer to the accuſation, he ſaid, was the right of the meaneſt perſon, much more ſo of a mother. In the preſent caſe, no charge was made in form; no proſecutor appeared; the whole was nothing but the whiſper of a buſy tale-bearer, who brought intelligence from the

the houſe of an enemy; but the time choſen for the diſcovery makes the whole improbable. Paris the informer came in the dead of night; and after many hours ſpent in carouſing, what can be expected, but confuſion, ignorance, and fatal temerity?

XXI. NERO was pacified by this reaſoning. At the dawn of day, proper perſons were ſent to Agrippina, to inform her of the allegations againſt her, and to hear her defence. The commiſſion was executed by Burrhus in the preſence of Seneca, and a number of freedmen, who were ſent to watch the whole proceeding. Burrhus ſtated the charge; he named the informers, and, in a tone of ſeverity, enforced every circumſtance. Agrippina heard him undiſmayed, and, with the pride and ſpirit of her character, replied as follows: "That Silana, who has "never known the labours of child-bed, ſhould be a ſtranger to "the affections of a mother, cannot be matter of ſurpriſe. "A woman of profligate manners may change her adulterers, but "a mother cannot renounce her children. If Iturius and Cal-"viſius, two bankrupts in fame as well as fortune, have ſold "themſelves to an old woman, is it of courſe that I muſt be "guilty of a crime which they have fabricated? And muſt my "ſon, at the inſtigation of two ſuch miſcreants, commit a parri-"cide? Let Domitia ſhew her kindneſs to my ſon; let her vie "with tenderneſs like mine, and I will forgive her malice; I "will even thank her for it. But ſhe is in league with Atime-"tus, who is known to be her paramour: Paris, the ſtage-"player, lends his aid: the talents that figured in the theatre, "he hopes, will be able to plan a real tragedy.

"At the time when my cares were buſy to make Nero the "adopted ſon of Claudius; to inveſt him with proconſular digni-"ty, and declare him conſul elect; when I was labouring to open

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"to my ſon the road to empire, where was Domitia then? Her "ponds and lakes at Baiæ engroſſed all her attention. Stand "forth the man, who can prove that I tampered with the city-"guards; that I ſeduced the provinces from their allegiance, or "endeavoured to corrupt the ſlaves and freedmen of the em-"peror. Had Britannicus obtained the imperial dignity, could "I have hoped to live in ſafety? And if Rubellius Plautus, or "any other perſon, had ſeized the reins of government, can "it be ſuppoſed that my enemies would not have ſeized their op-"portunity to exhibit their charge, not for intemperate words, "thrown out in the warmth of paſſion, the effuſion of a mo-"ther's jealouſy, but for real crimes, and thoſe of ſo deep a dye, "that no man can forgive them, except a ſon, for whom they "were committed." Such was the language of Agrippina. The warmth and energy with which ſhe delivered herſelf, made an impreſſion on all who heard her. They endeavoured to ſoften affliction, and mitigate the violence of her feelings. She demanded an interview with her ſon, and the meeting was granted. In his preſence ſhe ſcorned to enter into a vindication of herſelf. To anſwer the charge might betray too much diffidence: nor did ſhe dwell on the ſervices which ſhe had rendered to her ſon; that were to tax him with ingratitude. Her object was to puniſh her accuſers, and reward her friends. She ſucceeded in both.

XXII. The ſuperintendance of corn and grain was granted to Fænius Rufus. The public ſpectacles, then intended by the emperor, were committed to the care of Arruntius Stella. The province of Ægypt was aſſigned to Caius Balbillus *(a)*, and that of Syria to Publius Anteius. But the laſt was the bubble of promiſes, and never ſuffered to proceed to his government. Silana was ſent into exile. Calviſius and Iturius *(b)* ſhared the ſame fate. Atimetus was puniſhed with death. Paris, the comedian, was

was of too much conſequence: he had the art of miniſtering to the pleaſures of the prince: his vices ſaved him. Rubellius Plautus was, for the preſent, paſſed by in ſilence.

XXIII. SOON after this tranſaction, Pallas and Burrhus were charged with a conſpiracy to raiſe Cornelius Sylla to the imperial ſeat, in conſideration of his illuſtrious birth, and the affinity which he bore to Claudius, being, by his marriage with Antonia, the ſon-in-law of that emperor. In this buſineſs, a man of the name of Pætus was the proſecutor; a buſy pragmatical fellow, notorious for haraſſing his fellow-citizens with confiſcations to the treaſury, and on the preſent occaſion a manifeſt impoſtor. To find Pallas innocent would not have been unpleaſant to the fathers, if the arrogance of the man had not given diſguſt to all. In the courſe of the trial, ſome of his freedmen being mentioned as accomplices in the plot, he thought proper to anſwer, "That "among his domeſtics he never condeſcended to ſpeak: he ſig- "nified his pleaſure by a nod, or a motion of his hand. If the "buſineſs required ſpecial directions, he committed his mind to "paper, unwilling to mix in diſcourſe with people ſo much be- "neath his notice." Burrhus, though involved in the proſecution, took his ſeat on the bench with the judges, and pronounced his opinion. Pætus was condemned to baniſhment, and all his papers, which he preſerved as documents to be uſed in the revival of treaſury-ſuits, were committed to the flames.

XXIV. TOWARDS the cloſe of the year, the cuſtom of having a cohort on duty, at the exhibition of the public ſpectacles, was entirely laid aſide. By this meaſure the people were amuſed with a ſhew of liberty; and the ſoldiers, being thus removed from the licentiouſneſs of the theatre, were no longer in danger of tainting the diſcipline of the army with the vices of the city.

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From this experiment it was to be further ſeen, whether the populace, freed from the control of the military, would be obſervant of decency and good order. The temples of Jupiter and Minerva being ſtruck with lightning, the emperor, by the advice of the ſoothſayers, ordered a ſolemn luſtration to purify the city.

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XXV. The conſulſhip of Quintus Voluſius and Publius Scipio was remarkable for the tranquillity that prevailed in all parts of the empire, and the corruption of manners that diſgraced the city of Rome. Of all the worſt enormities Nero was the author. In the garb of a ſlave, he roved through the ſtreets, viſited the brothels, and rambled through all by-places, attended by a band of rioters, who ſeized the wares and merchandize expoſed to ſale, and offered violence to all that fell in their way. In theſe frolics, Nero was ſo little ſuſpected to be a party, that he was roughly handled in ſeveral frays. He received wounds on ſome occaſions, and his face was diſfigured with a ſcar. It was not long, however, before it tranſpired that the emperor was become a night-brawler. The miſchief from that moment grew more alarming. Men of rank were inſulted, and women of the firſt condition ſuffered groſs indignities. The example of the prince brought midnight riots into faſhion. Private perſons took their opportunity, with a band of looſe companions, to annoy the public ſtreets. Every quarter was filled with tumult and diſorder, inſomuch that Rome, at night, reſembled a city taken by ſtorm. In one of theſe wild adventures, Julius Montanus, of ſenatorian rank, but not yet advanced to the magiſtracy, happened to encounter the emperor and his party. Being attacked with force, he made a reſolute defence; and finding, afterwards, that Nero was the perſon whom he diſcomfited in the fray, he endeavoured to ſoften reſentment by apologies for his behaviour: but the

excuſe was conſidered as a reflection on the prince, and Montanus was compelled to die.

Nero perſiſted in this courſe of debauchery, and, for the ſafety of his perſon, took with him a party of ſoldiers, and a gang of gladiators. Theſe men, in ſlight and accidental ſkirmiſhes, kept aloof from the fray; but if warm and active ſpirits made a ſtout reſiſtance, they became parties in the quarrel, and cut their way ſword in hand. The theatre, at the ſame time, was a ſcene of uproar and violent contention. The partiſans of the players waged a kind of civil war. Nero encouraged them, not only with impunity, but with ample rewards. He was often a ſecret ſpectator of the tumult; and, at length, did not bluſh to appear in the face of the public. Theſe diſturbances were ſo frequent, that, from a people divided into factions, there was reaſon to apprehend ſome dreadful convulſion: the only remedy left, was to baniſh the players out of Italy, and once more make the ſoldiers mount guard at the theatre.

XXVI. About this time, the enfranchiſed ſlaves, by the inſolence of their behaviour to the patrons who had given them their freedom, provoked a debate in the ſenate. It was propoſed to paſs a law, empowering the patron to reclaim his right over ſuch as made an improper uſe of their liberty. The fathers were willing to adopt the meaſure, but the conſuls did not chooſe to put the queſtion before due notice was given to the emperor. They reported the caſe, and the ſubſtance of the debate, requeſting to know whether the prince would, of his own authority, enact a law that had but few to oppoſe it. In ſupport of the motion, it had been argued, that the freedmen were leagued in a faction againſt their patrons, and had the inſolence to think them anſwerable for their conduct in the ſenate. They went ſo far as

to

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to threaten violence to their perſons; they raiſed their hands againſt their benefactors, and, with audacious contumacy, preſumed to hinder them from ſeeking redreſs in due courſe of law. The patron, it is true, has peculiar privileges: but in what do they conſiſt? In the empty power of baniſhing the freedman, who proves unworthy of the favour beſtowed upon him, to the diſtance of twenty miles from Rome; that is, to ſend him, by way of puniſhment, to the delightful plains of Campania. In every other point of view, the freedman is on a level with the higheſt citizen. He enjoys equal privileges. It were, therefore, a prudent meaſure to arm the patron with coercive authority, effectual for the purpoſe, and of force not to be eluded. The manumitted ſlave ſhould "be taught to prolong the enjoyment of his liberty "by the ſame behaviour that obtained it at firſt. Nor could "this be deemed an oppreſſive law; ſince, as often as the freed-"men ſhewed no ſenſe of duty or ſubordination, to reduce them "to their primitive ſervitude, would be the ſoundeſt policy. "When gratitude has no effect, coercion is the proper remedy."

XXVII. In anſwer to this reaſoning, it was contended by the oppoſite party, "That, in all caſes of partial miſchief, puniſhment "ſhould fall on the guilty only. For the delinquency of a few, "the rights of all ought not to be taken away. The freedmen "were a large and numerous body. From them the number of "the tribes was completed, the magiſtrates were ſupplied with "inferior officers, the ſacerdotal orders with aſſiſtants, and the "prætorian cohorts with recruits. Many of the Roman knights, "and even the ſenators had no other origin. Deduct the men "whoſe fathers were enfranchiſed, and the number of freeborn "citizens will dwindle into nothing. When the ranks of ſo-"ciety were eſtabliſhed at Rome, it was the wiſdom of the old "republic to make liberty the common right of all, not the pre-

" rogative of a few. The power of conferring freedom was alſo " regulated, and two different modes *(a)* were eſtabliſhed, to the " end that the patron, if he ſaw reaſon for it, might either revoke " his grant, or confirm it by additional bounty. The man en- " franchiſed, without proper ceremonies before the prætor, was " liable to be claimed again by his maſter. But it is the buſineſs " of the patron to conſider well the character of his ſlave; till " he knows the merit of the man, let him withhold his generoſity; " but when freedom is fairly beſtowed, there ought to be no " reſumption of the grant." To this laſt opinion Nero acceded. He ſignified his pleaſure to the ſenate, that, in all cauſes between the patron and his freedman, they ſhould decide on the particular circumſtances of the caſe, without derogating from the rights of the body at large. Soon after this regulation, Paris, who had received his freedom from Domitia, the emperor's aunt, was removed from her domeſtic train, and declared to be a freeborn citizen *(b)*. The colour of law was given to this proceeding; but the judgment was known to be dictated by the prince, and the infamy, therefore, was all his own.

XXVIII. THERE remained, notwithſtanding, even at this juncture, an image of ancient liberty. A proof of this occurred in a conteſt that took place between Vibullius, the prætor, and Antiſtius, tribune of the people. Certain partiſans of the players had been, for their tumultuous behaviour, committed to jail by the prætor. The tribune interpoſed his authority, and releaſed the priſoners. This conduct was condemned by the ſenate, as extrajudicial and illegal. A decree paſſed, ordaining that the tribunes ſhould not preſume to counteract the juriſdiction of the prætor, or the conſuls; nor to ſummon to their own tribunal men, who reſided in different parts of Italy, and were amenable to the municipal laws of the colony. It was further ſettled, on the

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the motion of Lucius Piſo, conſul elect, that it ſhould not be competent to the tribunes to ſit in judgment at their own houſes; and that the fines, impoſed by their authority, ſhould not be entered by the quæſtor in the regiſters of the treaſury, before the end of four months from the day of the ſentence, that, in the mean time, the party aggrieved might have the benefit of an appeal to the conſuls. The juriſdiction of the ædiles, patrician as well as plebeian, was defined and limited; the ſureties which they might demand were ſtated with preciſion; and the penalties to be impoſed by their authority were reduced to a certain ſum. In conſequence of theſe regulations, Helvidius Priſcus, tribune of the people, ſeized the opportunity to proceed againſt Obultronius Sabinus, a quæſtor of the treaſury. He charged him with haraſſing the poor with unreaſonable confiſcations, and unmercifully ſeizing their effects to be ſold by auction. To redreſs the grievance, Nero removed the regiſter out of the hands of the quæſtor, and left that buſineſs to the care of præfects commiſſioned for the purpoſe.

XXIX. In this department of the treaſury various changes had been made, but no ſettled form *(a)* was eſtabliſhed. In the reign of Auguſtus, the præfects of the treaſury were choſen by the ſenate; but there being reaſon to ſuſpect that intrigue and private views had too much influence, thoſe officers were drawn by lot out of the liſt of the prætors. This mode was ſoon found to be defective. Chance decided, and too often wandered to men unqualified for the employment. Claudius reſtored the quæſtors, and, to encourage them to act with vigour, promiſed to place them above the neceſſity of ſoliciting the ſuffrages of the people, and, by his own authority, to raiſe them to the higher magiſtracies. But the quæſtorſhip being the firſt civil office that men could undertake, maturity of underſtanding was not to be expected. Nero, for

for that reaſon, choſe from the prætorian rank, a ſet of new commiſſioners of known experience and tried ability.

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XXX. During the ſame conſulſhip, Vipſanius Lænas was found guilty of rapacity in his government of Sardinia. Ceſtius Proculus was proſecuted for extortion; but his accuſers giving up the point, he was acquitted. Clodius Quirinalis, who had the command of the fleet at Ravenna, and by his profligate manners and various vices haraſſed the people in that part of Italy, with a degree of inſolence not to be endured by the moſt abject nation, was brought to his trial on a charge of rapine and oppreſſion. To prevent the final ſentence, he diſpatched himſelf by poiſon. About the ſame time, Caninius Rebilus, a man diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge of the laws, and his ample riches, determined to deliver himſelf from the miſeries of old age and a broken conſtitution. He opened a vein, and bled to death. The event was matter of ſurpriſe to all. The fortitude, that could voluntarily ruſh on death, was not expected from a man ſoftened by voluptuous enjoyments, and infamous for his effeminate manners. Lucius Voluſius, who died in the ſame year, left a very different character. He had lived, in ſplendid affluence, to the age of ninety-three, eſteemed for the honeſt arts by which he acquired immenſe wealth, under a ſucceſſion of deſpotic emperors, yet never expoſed to danger. He found the art of being rich and virtuous with impunity.

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XXXI. Nero, with Lucius Piſo for his colleague, entered on his ſecond conſulſhip. In this year we look in vain for tranſactions worthy of the hiſtorian's pen. The vaſt foundation of a new amphitheatre *(a)*, built by Nero in the Field of Mars, and the maſſy timbers employed in that magnificent ſtructure, might ſwell a volume; but deſcriptions of that kind may be left to grace

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the pages of a city-journal. The dignity of the Roman people requires that theſe annals ſhould not deſcend to a detail ſo minute and unintereſting. It will be proper to mention here, that Capua and Nuceria, two Roman colonies, were augmented by a body of veterans tranſplanted to thoſe places. A largeſs of two hundred ſmall ſeſterces to each man was diſtributed to the populace, and, to ſupport the credit of the ſtate, the ſum of four hundred thouſand great ſeſterces was depoſited in the treaſury. The twenty-fifth penny *(b)*, impoſed as a tax on the purchaſe of ſlaves, was remitted, with an appearance of moderation, but, in fact, without any ſolid advantage to the public. The payment of the duty was only ſhifted to the vendor, and he, to indemnify himſelf, raiſed his price on the purchaſer. The emperor iſſued a proclamation forbidding the magiſtrates and imperial procurators to exhibit, in any of the provinces, a ſhow of gladiators, wild beaſts, or any other public ſpectacle. The practice of amuſing the people with grand exhibitions had been as ſore a grievance as even the graſping hand of avarice. The governors plundered the people, and by diſplays of magnificence hoped to diſguiſe, or, in ſome degree, to make atonement for their crimes.

XXXII. A DECREE paſſed the ſenate to protect, by additional terrors of law, the life of the patron from the malice of his ſlaves. With this view, it was enacted, that, in the caſe of a maſter ſlain by his domeſtics, execution ſhould be done, not only on ſuch as remained in a ſtate of actual ſervitude, but likewiſe on all, who, by the will of the deceaſed, obtained their freedom, but continued to live under his roof at the time when the murder was committed. Lucius Varius, who had been degraded for rapacious avarice, was reſtored to his conſular rank, and his ſeat in the ſenate. Pomponia Græcina, a woman of illuſtrious birth, and

the wife of Plautius *(a)*, who, on his return from Britain, entered the city with the pomp of an ovation, was accuſed of embracing the rites of a foreign ſuperſtition *(b)*. The matter was referred to the juriſdiction of her huſband. Plautius, in conformity to ancient uſage, called together a number of her relations, and, in their preſence, ſat in judgment on the conduct of his wife. He pronounced her innocent. She lived to a great age, in one continued train of affliction. From the time when Julia, the daughter of Druſus, was brought to a tragical end by the wicked arts of Meſſalina *(c)*, ſhe never laid aſide her mourning weeds, but pined in grief during a ſpace of forty years, inconſolable for the loſs of her friend. During the reign of Claudius nothing could alleviate her ſorrow, nor was her perſeverance imputed to her as a crime: in the end, it was the glory of her character.

XXXIII. This year produced a number of criminal accuſations. Publius Celer was proſecuted by the province of Aſia. The weight of evidence preſſed ſo hard, that Nero, unable to acquit him, drew the cauſe into a tedious length. During that ſtate of ſuſpenſe, the criminal died of old age. Celer, the reader will remember, was an inſtrument in the murder of Silanus *(a)*, the proconſul. The magnitude of his guilt on that occaſion ſo far ſurpaſſed the reſt of his flagitious deeds, that nothing elſe was deemed worthy of notice. The enormity of one atrocious crime ſkreened him from puniſhment.

The Cilicians demanded juſtice againſt Coſſutianus Capito, a man of an abandoned character, who at Rome had ſet the laws at defiance, and thought, that, with equal impunity, he might commit the ſame exceſſes in the government of his province.

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The profecution was carried on with ſuch unremitting vigour, that he abandoned his defence. He was condemned to make reſtitution. A ſuit of the ſame nature was commenced againſt Eprius Marcellus by the people of Lycia, but with different ſucceſs. A powerful faction combined to ſupport him. The conſequence was, that ſome of the profecutors were baniſhed for a conſpiracy againſt an innocent man.

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XXXIV. NERO entered on his third conſulſhip, having for his colleague Valerius Meſſala, the great grandſon of Corvinus Meſſala *(a)*, the celebrated orator, who, in the memory of a few ſurviving old men, had been aſſociated in the conſulſhip with Auguſtus, the great grandfather of Nero's mother, Agrippina. The prince granted to his colleague an annual penſion of fifteen hundred thouſand ſeſterces, and with that income Meſſala, who had fallen into blameleſs poverty, was able to ſupport the dignity of his rank and character. Yearly ſtipends were alſo granted to Aurelius Cotta, and Haterius Antoninus, though they were both, by diſſipation, the authors of their own diſtreſs.

In the beginning of this year, the war between the Romans and the Parthians, hitherto ſlow in its operations, grew warm and active on both ſides. The poſſeſſion of Armenia was the point ſtill in diſpute. Vologeſes ſaw with indignation the crown, which he had ſettled on his brother Tiridates, withheld by force, and, to let him receive it as the gift of a foreign power, was a degree of humiliation to which his pride could not ſubmit. On the other hand, to recover the conqueſts formerly made by Lucullus and Pompey, was in Corbulo's judgment worthy of the Roman name. The Armenians balanced between the powers at war, and in their turn invited each. Their natural bias inclined them to the Parthians. Neighbours by ſituation, congenial

nial in their manners, and by frequent intermarriages cloſely allied, they were willing to favour the enemies of Rome, and even inclined to ſubmit to a Parthian maſter. Inured by habit to a ſtate of ſervitude, they neither underſtood, nor wiſhed for civil liberty.

XXXV. Corbulo had to ſtruggle with the ſlothful diſpoſition of his army; a miſchief more embarraſſing than the wily arts of the enemy. The legions from Syria joined his camp, but ſo enervated by the languor of peace, that they could ſcarce ſupport the labours of a campaign. It is certain, that there were amongſt them veterans who had ſeen no ſervice; who had never been on duty at a midnight poſt; who never mounted guard, and were ſuch total ſtrangers to a foſſe and a paliſade, that they gazed at both as at a novelty. They had ſerved the term preſcribed in garriſon-towns, without helmets, and without breaſt-plates, ſpruce and trim in their attire, by profeſſion ſoldiers, yet thinking of nothing but the means of enriching themſelves. Having diſmiſſed all ſuch as were by age and infirmity rendered unfit for the ſervice, Corbulo ordered new levies to be made in Galatia and Cappadocia. To theſe he added a legion from Germany, with ſome troops of horſe, and a detachment of infantry from the cohorts. Thus reinforced, his army kept the field, though the froſt was ſo intenſe, that, without digging through the ice, it was impoſſible to pitch their tents. By the inclemency of the ſeaſon many loſt the uſe of their limbs, and it often happened that the ſentinel died on his poſt. The caſe of one ſoldier deſerves to be mentioned. He was employed in carrying a load of wood: his hands, nipt by the froſt, and cleaving to the faggot, dropt from his arms, and fell to the ground.

The general, during the ſeverity of the weather, gave an example

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ample of ſtrenuous exertion; he was buſy in every quarter, thinly clad, his head uncovered, in the ranks, at the works, commending the brave, relieving the weak, and by his own active vigour exciting the emulation of the men. But the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the hardſhip of the ſervice, were more than the ſoldiers could endure. The army ſuffered by deſertion. This required an immediate remedy. The practice of lenity towards the firſt or ſecond offence, which often prevailed in other armies, would have been attended with dangerous conſequences. He who quitted his colours ſuffered death as ſoon as taken; and this ſeverity proved more ſalutary than weak compaſſion. The number of deſerters, from that time, fell ſhort of what happens in other camps, where too much indulgence is the practice.

XXXVI. HAVING reſolved to wait the return of ſpring, Corbulo kept his men within their entrenchments during the reſt of the winter. The auxiliary cohorts were ſtationed at proper poſts, under the command of Pactius Orphitus, who had ſerved as principal centurion. The orders given to this officer were, that the advanced poſts ſhould by no means hazard an engagement. Orphitus ſent to inform the general, that the Barbarians ſpread themſelves round the country with ſo little caution, that advantage might be taken of their imprudence. Corbulo renewed his orders, that the troops ſhould keep within the lines, and wait for a reinforcement. Orphitus paid no regard to the command of his ſuperior officer. A few troops of horſe, from the adjacent caſtles, came up to join him, and, through inexperience, demanded to be led againſt the enemy. Orphitus riſked a battle, and was totally routed. The forces poſted near at hand, whoſe duty it was to march to the aſſiſtance of the broken ranks, fled in confuſion to their entrenchments. Corbulo no ſooner received intelligence of this defeat, than

than he reſolved to paſs the ſevereſt cenſure on the diſobedience of his officer. He ordered him, his ſubalterns, and his men, to march out of the entrenchments *(a)*, and there left them in diſgrace, till, at the interceſſion of the whole army, he gave them leave to return within the lines.

XXXVII. MEANWHILE Tiridates, at the head of his vaſſals and followers, with a ſtrong reinforcement ſent by his brother Vologeſes, invaded Armenia, not, as before, by ſudden incurſions, but with open hoſtility. Wherever the people were in the intereſts of Rome, he laid waſte their lands; if an armed force advanced againſt him, he ſhifted his quarters, and, by the velocity of his flight, eluded the attack. He moved with rapidity from place to place, and, by the terror of a wild and deſultory war, more than by the ſucceſs of his arms, kept the country in a conſtant alarm. Corbulo endeavoured, but without effect, to bring him to an engagement. He determined, therefore, to adopt the plan of the enemy, and, for that purpoſe, ſpread his forces round the country, under the conduct of his lieutenants and other ſubordinate officers. At the ſame time he cauſed a diverſion to be made by Antiochus, king of Syria, in the provinces of Armenia that lay contiguous to his dominions. Pharaſmanes, king of Iberia, was willing, in this juncture, to cooperate with the Roman arms. He had put his ſon Rhadamiſtus to death for imputed treaſon, and, to make terms with Rome, while, in fact, he gratified his rooted averſion to the Armenians, he pretended to enter into the war with the zeal and ardour of a friend to the cauſe. The Iſichians *(a)* alſo declared for Corbulo. That people were now, for the firſt time, the allies of Rome. They made incurſions into the wild and deſert tracts of Armenia, and by a deſultory rambling war diſtracted the operations of the enemy.

Tiridates,

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Tiridates, finding himſelf counteracted on every ſide, ſent ambaſſadors to expoſtulate, as well in the name of the Parthians, as for himſelf. "After hoſtages ſo lately delivered, and a renewal "of friendſhip, that promiſed mutual advantages, why was his "expulſion from the kingdom of Armenia the fixed, the avowed "intention of the Roman army? If Vologeſes was not as yet "in motion with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom, it was be-"cauſe he wiſhed to prevail by the juſtice of his cauſe, and not "by force of arms. If the ſword muſt be drawn, the event "would ſhew that the Arſacides had not forgot that warlike "ſpirit which, on former occaſions, had been fatal to the Roman "name." Corbulo heard this magnificent language; but, being informed, by ſure intelligence, that the revolt of the Hyrcanians *(b)* found employment for Vologeſes, he returned for anſwer, that the wiſeſt meaſure Tiridates could purſue, would be to addreſs himſelf in a ſuppliant ſtyle to the emperor of Rome. The kingdom of Armenia, ſettled on a ſolid baſis, might be his without the effuſion of blood, and the havoc of a deſtructive war, if to diſtant and chimerical hopes he preferred moderate meaſures and preſent ſecurity.

XXXVIII. From this time the buſineſs fell into a train of negociation. Frequent diſpatches paſſed between both armies; but no progreſs being made towards a concluſive treaty, it was at length agreed that, at a fixed time and place, the two chiefs ſhould come to an interview. Tiridates gave notice that he ſhould bring with him a guard of a thouſand horſe: the number which Corbulo might chooſe for his own perſon, he did not take upon him to preſcribe; all he deſired was, that they ſhould come with a pacific diſpoſition, and advance to the congreſs without their breaſt-plates and their helmets. This ſtroke of eaſtern perfidy was not ſo fine, but even the dulleſt capacity, not

to

to mention an experienced general, might perceive the latent fraud. The number limited on one ſide, and to the oppoſite party left indefinite, carried with it a ſpecious appearance; but the lurking treachery was too apparent. The Parthian cavalry excelled in the dexterity of managing the bow and arrow; and, without defenſive armour, what would be the uſe of ſuperior numbers? Aware of the deſign, but chooſing to diſguiſe his ſentiments, Corbulo calmly anſwered, that the buſineſs being of a public nature, the diſcuſſion of it ought to be in the preſence of both armies. For the convention he appointed a place incloſed on one ſide by a ſoft acclivity of gently riſing hills, where the infantry might be poſted to advantage, with a vale beneath, ſtretching to an extent that gave ample ſpace for the cavalry. On the ſtated day Corbulo advanced to the meeting, with his forces in regular order. In the wings were ſtationed the allies and the auxiliaries ſent by the kings in friendſhip with Rome. The ſixth legion formed the centre, ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of three thouſand men from the third legion, drafted in the night from the neighbouring camp. Being embodied under one eagle, they preſented the appearance of a ſingle legion. Towards the cloſe of day, Tiridates occupied a diſtant ground, viſible indeed, but never within hearing. Not being able to obtain a conference, the Roman general ordered his men to file off to their reſpective quarters.

XXXIX. TIRIDATES left the field with precipitation, alarmed at the various movements of the Roman army, and fearing the danger of an ambuſcade, or, perhaps, intending to cut off the ſupplies of proviſions then on the way from the city of Trebizonde *(a)* and the Pontic ſea. But the ſupplies were conveyed over the mountains, where a chain of poſts was formed, to ſecure the paſſes. A ſlow and lingering war was now to be apprehended:

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to bring it to a ſpeedy iſſue, and compel the Armenians to act on the defenſive, Corbulo reſolved to level their caſtles to the ground. The ſtrongeſt fort in that quarter was known by the name of VOLANDUM *(b)*: the demolition of that place he reſerved for himſelf, and againſt the towns of inferior note he ſent Cornelius Flaccus, a lieutenant general, and Inſteius Capito, præfect of the camp. Having reconnoitred the works, and prepared for the aſſault, he harangued his men in effect as follows: "You have now to do with a daſtardly and fugitive enemy; a "vagabond race, always roving in prædatory bands, betraying "at once their unwarlike ſpirit and their perfidy; impatient of "peace, and cowards in war. The time is arrived, when the "whole nation may be exterminated: by one brave exploit "you may gain both fame and booty to reward your valour." Having thus inflamed the ſpirit of his men, he arranged them in four diviſions; one cloſe embodied under their ſhields, forming a military ſhell, to ſap the foundation of the ramparts; a ſecond party advanced with ladders to ſcale the walls; a third with their warlike engines threw into the place a ſhower of darts and miſſive fire; while the ſlingers and archers, poſted at a convenient diſtance, diſcharged a volley of metal and huge maſſy ſtones.

To keep the enemy employed in every quarter, the attack was made on all ſides at once. In leſs than four hours the Barbarians were driven from their ſtations; the ramparts were left defenceleſs, the gates were forced, and the works taken by ſcalade. A dreadful ſlaughter followed. All who were capable of carrying arms were put to the ſword. On the part of the Romans only one man was killed; the number of wounded was inconſiderable. The women and children were ſold to ſlavery: the reſt was left to be plundered by the ſoldiers. The operations

tions of Flaccus and Capito were attended with equal ſucceſs. In one day three caſtles were taken by ſtorm. A general panic overſpread the country. From motives of fear or treachery the inhabitants ſurrendered at diſcretion. Encouraged by theſe proſperous events, Corbulo was now reſolved to lay ſiege in form to Artaxata *(c)*, the capital of the kingdom. He did not, however, think it adviſable to march the neareſt way. The river Araxes *(d)* waſhes the walls of the city: the legions would have found it neceſſary to conſtruct the neceſſary bridges in ſight of the enemy, expoſed to their darts and miſſive weapons. They took a wider circuit, and forded over where the current was broad and ſhallow.

XL. TIRIDATES was thrown into the utmoſt diſtreſs. Shame and fear took poſſeſſion of him by turns. If he ſuffered a blockade to be formed, his weak condition would be too apparent; if he attempted to raiſe the ſiege, his cavalry might be ſurrounded in the narrow defiles. He reſolved to ſhew himſelf towards the cloſe of day in order of battle, and, next morning, either to attack the Romans, or, by a ſudden retreat, to draw them into an ambuſcade. With this intent he made a ſudden movement, and ſurrounded the legions. The attempt gave no alarm to Corbulo: prepared for all events, he had marſhalled his men either for action, or a march. The third legion took poſt in the right wing; the ſixth advanced on the left; and a ſelect detachment from the tenth formed the centre. The baggage was ſecured between the ranks: a body of a thouſand horſe brought up the rear, with orders to face the enemy whenever an attack was made, but never to purſue them. The foot archers, and the reſt of the cavalry, were diſtributed in the wings. The left extended their ranks towards the foot of the hills, in order, if the Barbarians advanced on that ſide, to hem them in between

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the front lines and the centre of the army. Tiridates contented himſelf with vain parade, ſhifting his ground with celerity, yet never within the throw of a dart, advancing, retreating, and, by every ſtratagem, trying to make the Romans open their ranks, and leave themſelves liable to be attacked in ſcattered parties. His efforts were without effect: one officer, who commanded a troop of horſe, advanced from his poſt, and fell under a volley of darts. His temerity reſtrained the reſt of the army. Towards the cloſe of day, Tiridates, ſeeing his wiles defeated, withdrew with all his forces.

XLI. CORBULO encamped on the ſpot. Having reaſon to imagine that Tiridates would throw himſelf into the city of Artaxata, he debated whether it would not be beſt, without loſs of time, to puſh forward by rapid marches, and lay ſiege to the place. While he remained in ſuſpenſe, intelligence was brought by the ſcouts that the prince ſet off at full ſpeed towards ſome diſtant region, but whether to Media or Albania, was uncertain. He reſolved, therefore, to wait the return of day, and in the mean time diſpatched the light armed cohorts, with orders to inveſt the city, and begin their attack at a proper diſtance. The inhabitants threw open their gates, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. Their lives were ſaved, but the town was reduced to aſhes. No other meaſure could be adopted: the walls were of wide extent, and a ſufficient garriſon could not be ſpared, at a time when it was neceſſary to proſecute the war with vigour; and if the city were left unhurt, the advantage, as well as glory of the conqueſt, would be loſt. To theſe reaſons was added an extraordinary appearance in the heavens. It happened that the ſun-beams played with brilliant luſtre on the adjacent country, making the whole circumference a ſcene of ſplendour, while the precinct of the town was covered with the darkeſt gloom, at intervals

tervals rendered ſtill more awful by flaſhes of lightning, that ſerved to ſhew the impending horror. This phænomenon was believed to be the wrath of the gods denouncing the deſtruction of the city.

For theſe tranſactions Nero was ſaluted IMPERATOR. The ſenate decreed a ſolemn thankſgiving. Statues and triumphal arches were erected, and the prince was declared perpetual conſul. The day on which the victory was gained, and alſo that on which the news arrived at Rome, and the report was made to the ſenate, were by a decree to be obſerved as annual feſtivals. Many other votes were paſſed with the ſame ſpirit of adulation, all in their tendency ſo exceſſive, that Caius Caſſius, who had concurred with every motion, obſerved at laſt, that if, for the benignity of the gods to the Roman people, due thanks were to be voted, acts of religion would engroſs the whole year; and, therefore, care ſhould be taken to fix the days of devotion at proper intervals, that they might not encroach too much on the buſineſs of civil life.

XLII. ABOUT this time, a man who had ſuffered various revolutions of fortune, and by his vices had brought on himſelf the public deteſtation, was cited to anſwer a charge exhibited againſt him before the ſenate. He was condemned, but not without fixing a ſtain on the character of Seneca. Suillius *(a)* was the perſon: in the reign of Claudius he had been the ſcourge and terror of his fellow-citizens; a venal orator, and an informer by profeſſion. In the late changes of government he had been much reduced, but not low enough to gratify the reſentment of his enemies. His ſpirit was ſtill unconquered. Rather than deſcend to humble ſupplications, he preferred the character of a convicted malefactor. To come at this man, a late decree of the ſenate, reviving the pains and penalties of the Cincian

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Cincian law *(b)* againſt ſuch advocates as received a price for their eloquence, was thought to have been framed by the advice of Seneca. Suillius exclaimed againſt the proceeding. At his time of life he had little to fear. To the natural ferocity of his temper he now added a contempt of danger.

He poured out a torrent of invective, and in particular railed with acrimony againſt Seneca. "The philoſopher," he ſaid, "was an enemy to the friends of Claudius. He had been ba-"niſhed by that emperor, and the diſgrace was not inflicted "without juſt reaſon. He is now grown old in the purſuit of "frivolous literature, a vain retailer of rhetoric to raw and inex-"perienced boys. He beholds with an eye of envy all, who, in "the defence of their fellow-citizens, exert a pure, a ſound, a "manly eloquence. That Suillius lived with reputation in the "ſervice of Germanicus, is a fact well known. He was quæſ-"tor under that prince, while Seneca corrupted the morals "of his daughter, and diſhonoured the family. If it be a "crime to receive from a client the reward of honeſt induſtry, "what ſhall be ſaid of him, who ſteals into the chamber of a "princeſs to debauch her virtue *(c)*? By what ſyſtem of ethics, "and by what rules of philoſophy, has this profeſſor warped "into the favour of the emperor, and, in leſs than four years, "amaſſed three hundred million of ſeſterces? Through the city "of Rome his ſnares are ſpread; laſt wills and teſtaments are "his quarry; and the rich, who have no children, are his prey. "By exorbitant uſury *(d)* he has overwhelmed all Italy; the "provinces are exhauſted, and he is ſtill inſatiate. The wealth of "Suillius cannot be counted great; but it is the fruit of honeſt "induſtry. He is now determined to bid defiance to his ene-"mies, and hazard all conſequences, rather than derogate from "his

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" his rank and the glory of his life, by poorly yielding to a new " man ; an upſtart in the ſtate ; a ſudden child of fortune."

XLIII. By a ſet of officious tale-bearers, who love to carry intelligence, and inflame it with the addition of their own malevolence, theſe bitter invectives were conveyed to Seneca. The enemies of Suillius were ſet to work: they charged him with rapine and peculation during his government in Aſia. To ſubſtantiate theſe allegations, twelve months were allowed to the proſecutors: but that put off their vengeance to a diſtant day. To ſhorten their work, they choſe to proceed upon a new charge, without going out of Rome for witneſſes. The accuſation ſtated, " That by a " virulent proſecution he had driven Quintus Pomponius *(a)* into " open rebellion ; that by his pernicious arts Julia, the daughter " of Druſus, and Poppæa Sabina, were forced to put a period to " their lives ; that Valerius Aſiaticus, Luſius Saturninus, and " Cornelius Lupus, with a long liſt of Roman knights, were all " cut off by his villany ; and, in ſhort, every act of cruelty in " the reign of Claudius was imputed to him." To theſe charges Suillus anſwered, That he acted always under the immediate orders of the prince, and never of his own motion. Nero overruled that defence, averring, that he had inſpected all the papers of the late emperor, and from thoſe vouchers it plainly appeared, that not one proſecution was ſet on foot by the order of Claudius. The criminal reſorted to the commands of Meſſalina ; but, by ſhifting his ground, his cauſe grew weaker. Why, it was argued, was he the only perſon who lent himſelf to the wicked deſigns of that pernicious proſtitute? Shall the perpetrator of evil deeds, who has received his hire, be allowed to transfer his guilt to the perſon who paid him the wages of his iniquity?

Suillius was condemned, and his effects were confiſcated,

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except a part allowed to his ſon and grandaughter, in addition to what was left to them under the will of their mother, and their grandmother. He was baniſhed to the iſlands called the Baleares *(b)*. During the whole of the trial, he behaved with undaunted firmneſs, and even after the ſentence his ſpirit was ſtill unbroken. He is ſaid to have lived in his lone retreat, not only at eaſe, but in voluptuous affluence. His enemies intended to wreak their malice on his ſon Nerulinus, and, with that view, charged him with extortion. Nero checked the proſecution; the ends of juſtice being, as he thought, ſufficiently anſwered.

XLIV. It happened, at this time, that Octavius Sagitta, tribune of the people, fell in love to diſtraction with a married woman of the name of Pontia. By preſents and unbounded generoſity he ſeduced her to his embraces, and, afterwards by a promiſe of marriage, engaged her conſent to a divorce from her huſband. Pontia was no ſooner free from the nuptial tie, than her imagination opened to her other proſpects. She affected delays; her father made objections; ſhe had hopes of a better match, and finally ſhe refuſed to perform her contract. Octavius expoſtulated; he complained; he threatened; his reputation ſuffered, and his fortune was ruined. His life was all that he had left, and that he was ready to ſacrifice at her command. His ſuit, however earneſt, made no impreſſion. In deſpair, he begged one night only; that ſmall indulgence would aſſuage his ſorrows, and take the ſting from diſappointment. The aſſignation was made. Pontia ordered her ſervant, who was privy to the intrigue, to watch her bed-chamber. The lover went to his appointment. He carried with him one of his freedmen, and a poniard under his robe. The ſcene which uſually occurs, when love is ſtung to jealouſy, was acted between the parties; reproaches,

proaches, fond endearments, rage, and tenderneſs, war and peace took their turn *(a)*.

Part of the night was paſſed in mutual enjoyment. At length, Octavius, in the moment of ſoft ſecurity, when the unhappy victim thought all violence at an end, ſeized his dagger, and ſheathed it in her heart. The maid ruſhed in to aſſiſt her miſtreſs. Octavius wounded her, and made his eſcape. On the following day, the murder was reported abroad; and the hand that gave the blow was ſtrongly ſuſpected. Octavius, it was certain, had paſſed the night with the deceaſed; but his freedman boldly ſtood forth, and took the crime upon himſelf. It was his deed; an act of juſtice due to an injured maſter. This generous fortitude from the mouth of an aſſaſſin was heard with aſtoniſhment, and for ſome time gained credit, till the maid, who had recovered from her wound, diſcloſed the particulars of the whole tranſaction. Pontia's father appealed to the tribunal of the conſuls, and Octavius, as ſoon as his office of tribune ceaſed, was condemned to ſuffer the penalties of the Cornelian law againſt aſſaſſins *(b)*.

XLV. In the courſe of the ſame year, another ſcene of libidinous paſſion was brought forward, more important than that which we have related, and, in the end, the cauſe of public calamity. Sabina Poppæa, at that time, lived at Rome in a ſtyle of taſte and elegance. She was the daughter of Titus Ollius, but ſhe took her name from Poppæus Sabinus *(a)*, her grandfather by the maternal line. Her father Ollius was, at one time, riſing to the higheſt honours; but, being a friend to Sejanus, he was involved in the ruin of that miniſter. The grandfather had figured on the ſtage of public buſineſs. He was of conſular rank, and obtained the honour of a triumph. To be the known

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deſcendant of a man ſo diſtinguiſhed flattered the vanity of Poppæa. Virtue excepted, ſhe poſſeſſed all the qualities that adorn the female character. Her mother *(b)* was the reigning beauty of her time. From her the daughter inherited nobility of birth, with all the graces of an elegant form. Her fortune was equal to her rank; her converſation had every winning art; her talents were cultivated, and her wit refined. She knew how to aſſume an air of modeſty, and yet purſue laſcivious pleaſures; in her deportment, decent; in her heart, a libertine. When ſhe appeared in public, which was but ſeldom, ſhe wore a veil, that ſhaded, or ſeemed to ſhade her face; perhaps intending, that her beauty ſhould not wear out and tarniſh to the eye; or becauſe that ſtyle of dreſs was moſt becoming. To the voice of fame ſhe paid no regard: her huſband and her adulterer were equally welcome to her embraces. Love, with her, was not an affair of the heart. Knowing no attachment herſelf, ſhe required none from others. Where ſhe ſaw her intereſt, there ſhe beſtowed her favours; a politician even in her pleaſures. She was married to Rufius Criſpinus, a Roman knight, and was by him the mother of a ſon *(c)*; but Otho, a youth of expectation, luxurious, prodigal, and high in favour with Nero, attracted her regard. She yielded to his addreſſes, and, in a ſhort time, married the adulterer.

XLVI. Otho, in company with the emperor, grew laviſh in her praiſe. Her beauty and her elegant manners were his conſtant theme. He talked, perhaps, with the warmth and indiſcretion of a lover; perhaps, with a deſign to inflame the paſſions of Nero, and from their mutual reliſh of the ſame enjoyments to derive new ſtrength to ſupport his intereſt. Riſing from Nero's table, he was often heard to ſay, "I am going to the "arms of her, who poſſeſſes every amiable accompliſhment; by

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"her birth ennobled; endeared by beauty; the wiſh of all be-
"holders, and to the favoured man the ſource of true delight."
Nero became enamoured. No time was loſt. Poppæa received his viſits. At the firſt interview ſhe called forth all her charms, and enſured her conqueſt. She admired the dignity of the prince. His air, his manner, and his looks were irreſiſtible. By this well-acted fondneſs ſhe gained entire dominion over his affections. Proud of her ſucceſs, ſhe thought it time to act her part with female airs and coy reluctance. If Nero wiſhed to detain her more than a night or two, ſhe could not think of complying; ſhe was married to a man whom ſhe loved. She could not riſk the loſs of a ſituation ſo perfectly happy. Otho led a life of taſte and elegance, unrivalled in his pleaſures. Under his roof ſhe ſaw nothing but magnificence, in a ſtyle worthy of the higheſt ſtation. She objected to Nero that he had contracted different habits. He lived in cloſe connection with Acté, a low-born ſlave; and from ſo mean a commerce, what could be expected but ſordid manners and degenerate ſentiment! From that moment, Otho loſt his intereſt with the prince: he had orders neither to frequent the palace, nor to ſhew himſelf in the train of attendants. At length, to remove a rival, Nero made him governor of Luſitania. Otho quitted Rome, and, till the breaking out of the civil wars, continued in the adminiſtration of his province, a firm and upright magiſtrate, in this inſtance exhibiting to the world that wonderful union of repugnant qualities which marked the man; in private life, luxurious, profligate, and prone to every vice; in his public capacity, prudent, juſt, and temperate in the uſe of power.

XLVII. It was in this juncture that Nero firſt threw off the maſk. He had hitherto cloked the vices of his nature. The perſon whom he dreaded moſt, was Cornelius Sylla; a man, in

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fact, of a dull and ſluggiſh underſtanding; but his ſtupidity paſſed with Nero for profound thinking, and the deep reſerve of a dangerous politician. In this idea he was confirmed by the malignity of one Graptus, a man enfranchiſed by the emperor, and from the reign of Tiberius hackneyed in the practice of courts. He framed an artful ſtory. The Milvian *(a)* bridge was, at that time, the faſhionable ſcene of midnight revelry: being out of the limits of Rome, the emperor thought that he might riot, at that place, with unbounded freedom. Graptus told him, that a conſpiracy had been formed againſt his life, and the villains lay in ambuſh on the Flaminian way; but as fortune would have it, the prince, by paſſing through the Salluſtian *(b)* gardens, eſcaped the ſnare. To give colour to this invented tale, he alleged the following circumſtance: In one of the riots, which were common in thoſe diſſolute times, a ſet of young men fell into a ſkirmiſh with the attendants of the emperor. This, he ſaid, was a concerted plot, and Sylla was the author of it, though not ſo much as one of his clients, nor even a ſlave of his, was found to have been of the party. Sylla, in fact, had neither capacity, nor ſpirit for an undertaking ſo big with danger; and yet, on the ſuggeſtion of Graptus, which was received as poſitive proof, he was obliged to quit his country, and reſide, for the future, in the city of Marſeilles.

XLVIII. DURING the ſame conſulſhip, the ſenate gave audience to the deputies from the magiſtrates and the people of Puteoli *(a)*. The former complained of the licentiouſneſs of the populace, and the latter retaliated, in bitter terms, againſt the pride and avarice of the nobles. It appeared that the mob roſe in a tumultuous body, diſcharging volleys of ſtones, and threatening to ſet fire to the houſes. A general maſſacre was likely to be the conſequence. Caius Caſſius was diſpatched to quell the

the insurrection. His measures, too harsh and violent for the occasion, served only to irritate the people. He was recalled, at his own request, and the two Scribonii were sent to supply his place. They took with them a prætorian cohort. By the terror of a military force, and the execution of a few ringleaders, the public tranquillity was restored.

XLIX. A DECREE of the senate, which had no higher object than to authorise the people of Syracuse to exceed, in their public spectacles, the number of gladiators limited by law, would be matter too trite, and unworthy of notice, if the opposition, made by Pætus Thrasea, had not excited against that excellent man a number of enemies. They seized the opportunity to traduce his character. "If he is, as he pretends to be, seriously of "opinion, that the public good requires liberty of speech and "freedom of debate, why descend to things so frivolous in their "nature? Are peace and war of no importance? When laws "are in question; when tributes and imposts are the subject "before the fathers, and, when points of the first importance "are in agitation, where is his eloquence then? Every senator, "who rises in his place, has the privilege of moving what-"ever he conceives to be conducive to the public welfare; and "what he moves, he has a right to discuss, to debate, and put "to the vote. And yet to regulate the amphitheatre of Syracuse "is the sole business of a professed and zealous patriot. Is the "administration in all its parts so fair and perfect, that even "Thrasea himself, if he held the reins of government, could "find nothing to reform? If he suffers matters of the first "importance to pass in silence, why amuse us with a mock "debate on questions, wherein no man finds himself in-"terested."

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The friends of Thraſea deſired an explanation of his conduct: his anſwer was as follows: When he roſe to make his objections to the law in queſtion, he was not ignorant of the miſmanagement that prevailed in all departments of the government; but the principle on which he acted, had in view the honour of the ſenate. When matters of little moment drew the attention of the fathers, men would ſee that affairs of importance could not eſcape a body of men, who thought nothing that concerned the public beneath their notice.

L. The complaints of the people, in the courſe of this year, againſt the oppreſſions practiſed by the collectors *(a)* of the revenue, were ſo loud and violent, that Nero was inclined to aboliſh the whole ſyſtem of duties and taxes, thereby to ſerve the intereſts of humanity, and beſtow on mankind the greateſt bleſſing in his power. To this generous ſentiment the fathers gave the higheſt applauſe; but the deſign, they ſaid, however noble, was altogether impracticable. To abrogate all taxes, were to cut off the reſources of government, and diſſolve the commonwealth. Repeal the impoſts on trade, and what would be the conſequence? The tribute paid by the provinces muſt, in like manner, be remitted. The ſeveral companies that farmed the revenue were eſtabliſhed by the conſuls and tribunes of Rome, in the period of liberty, when the old republic flouriſhed in all its glory. The revenue ſyſtem, which has ſince grown up, was formed on a fair eſtimate, proportioned to the demands of government. It would, indeed, be highly proper to reſtrain within due bounds the conduct of the collectors, that the ſeveral duties, which were ſanctioned by the acquieſcence of ages, might not, by oppreſſion and rapacity, be converted into a grievance too rigorous to be endured.

LI. Nero

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LI. NERO iſſued a proclamation, directing that the revenue laws *(a)*, till that time kept among the myſteries of ſtate, ſhould be drawn up in form, and entered on the public tables for the inſpection of all degrees and ranks of men. It was alſo made a rule, that no arrear of more than a year's ſtanding ſhould be recovered by the tax-gatherers, and, in all caſes of complaint againſt thoſe officers, the ſame ſhould be heard and decided in a ſummary way, by the prætor at Rome, and in the provinces by the proprætors or proconſuls. To the ſoldiers all former privileges and immunities were preſerved, with an exception of the duties on merchandize, if they entered into trade. Many other regulations were added, all juſt and equitable, and, for ſome time, ſtrictly obſerved, but ſuffered afterwards to fall into diſuſe. The abolition, however, of the fortieth and the fiftieth penny, with many other exactions, invented by the avarice of the publicans, ſtill continues in force. The exportation of corn, from the provinces beyond ſea, was alſo put under proper regulations; the impoſts were diminiſhed; the ſhipping employed in commerce was not to be rated in the eſtimate of the merchants effects, and, of courſe, ſtood exempted from all duties.

LII. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS *(a)* and Pomponius Silvanus, who had governed in Africa with proconſular authority, were both accuſed of mal-adminiſtration, and acquitted by the emperor. The accuſers of Camerinus were few in number, and their allegations were private acts of cruelty to individuals, not rapine or extortion, or any charge of a public nature. Silvanus was beſet by powerful enemies. They prayed time to produce their witneſſes: the defendant preſſed for an immediate hearing. He was rich, advanced in years, and had no children; the conſequence was, that a ſtrong party eſpouſed his intereſt. He triumphed over his enemies and his friends went unrewarded.

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They hoped by their ſervices to merit his eſtate, but he ſurvived them all.

LIII. DURING this whole period, a ſettled calm prevailed in Germany. The commanders, in that quarter, plainly ſaw that triumphal ornaments, granted, as they had been, on every trifling occaſion, were no longer an honour. To preſerve the peace of the provinces they thought their trueſt glory. Paulinus Pompeius and Lucius Vetus were then at the head of the legions. That the ſoldiery, however, might not languiſh in a ſtate of inaction, Paulinus finiſhed the great work of a bank, to prevent the inundations of the Rhine; a project begun by Druſus ſixty-three years before *(a)*. Vetus had conceived a vaſt deſign: he had in contemplation a canal, by which the waters of the Moſelle *(b)* and the Arar were to be communicated, to the end that the Roman forces might be able, for the future, to enter the Rhone from the Mediterranean, and paſſing thence into the Arar, proceed through the new channel into the Moſelle, and ſail down the Rhine into the German Ocean. This plan was on a great ſcale: fatiguing marches over a long tract of land would be no longer neceſſary, and a commodious navigation would be opened between the weſtern and the northern ſeas.

Ælius Gracilis, who commanded in the Belgic Gaul, heard of this magnificent plan with the jealouſy of a little mind. He gave notice to Vetus, that he and his legions muſt not think of entering the province of another officer. Such a ſtep, he ſaid, would have the appearance of a deſign to gain the affections of the people of Gaul, and, by conſequence, might give umbrage to the emperor. In this manner, as often happens, the danger of having too much merit laid aſide a project of great importance to the public.

LIV. THE Barbarians, having ſeen the long inactivity of the

the Roman armies, conceived a notion, that the generals had it in command not to march againſt the enemy. In this perſuaſion, the Friſians *(a)*, having ordered the weak, through ſex or age, to be conveyed acroſs the lakes, marched with the flower of their young men through woods and moraſſes towards the banks of the Rhine, where they took poſſeſſion of a large tract, vacant, indeed, at the time, but in fact appropriated to the uſe of the Roman ſoldiers. In this emigration, the leading chiefs were Verritus and Malorix, both of them ſovereign princes, if ſovereign power may be ſaid to exiſt in Germany. They had already fixed their habitations; they began to cultivate the ſoil, and the lands were ſown in as full ſecurity as if they occupied their native ſoil; when Vibius Avitus, who ſucceeded Paulinus in the government of the province, threatened to attack them with his whole force, if they did not evacuate the country, or obtain a ſettlement from the emperor. Intimidated by theſe menaces, the German chiefs ſet out for Rome. Being there obliged to wait till Nero was at leiſure from other buſineſs, they employed their time in ſeeing ſuch curioſities as are uſually ſhewn to ſtrangers. They were conducted to Pompey's theatre *(b)*, where the grandeur of the people, in one vaſt aſſembly, could not fail to make an impreſſion. Rude minds have no taſte for the exhibitions of the theatre *(c)*. They gazed at every thing with a face of wonder: the place for the populace, and the different ſeats aſſigned to the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, engaged their attention. Curioſity was excited: they enquired which were the Roman knights, and which the ſenators? Among the laſt they perceived a few, who, by their exotic dreſs, were known to be foreigners. They ſoon learned that they were ambaſſadors from different ſtates, and that the privilege of mixing with the fathers was granted by way of diſtinction, to do honour to men, who by their courage and fidelity ſurpaſſed the reſt of the world. The anſwer gave offence to the

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two chieftains. In point of valour and integrity, the Germans, they ſaid, were ſecond to no people upon earth. With this ſtroke of national pride, they roſe abruptly, and took their ſeats among the ſenators. Their rough, but honeſt ſimplicity diffuſed a general pleaſure through the audience. It was conſidered as the ſudden impulſe of liberty; a glow of generous emulation. Nero granted to the two chiefs the privilege of Roman citizens, but, at the ſame time, declared, that the Friſians muſt depart from the lands which they had preſumed to occupy. The Barbarians refuſed to ſubmit. A detachment of the auxiliary horſe was ſent forward, with orders to diſlodge them. The attack was made with vigour, and all who reſiſted, were either taken priſoners, or put to the ſword.

LV. ANOTHER irruption was ſoon after made in the ſame quarter by the Anſibarians *(a)*, a people reſpected for their own internal ſtrength, and ſtill more formidable, on account of the general ſympathy with which the neighbouring ſtates beheld their ſufferings. They had been driven by the Chaucians from their native land, and having no place which they could call their country, they roamed about in queſt of ſome retreat, where they might dwell in peace, although in exile. Boiocalus, a warlike chief, was at the head of this wandering nation. He had gained renown in arms, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his faithful attachment to the intereſts of Rome. He urged, in vindication of his conduct, that, in the revolt of the Cheruſcans *(b)*, he had been loaded with irons by the order of Arminius. Since that time, he had ſerved in the Roman armies; at firſt under Tiberius, and afterwards under Germanicus; and now, at the end of fifty years, he was willing to add to his paſt ſervices the merit of ſubmitting himſelf and his people to the protection of the Romans. "The country in diſpute," he ſaid, "was of wide

" extent; and under colour of reſerving it for the uſe of the " legions, whole tracts of land remained unoccupied, waſte, and " deſolate. Let the Roman ſoldiers depaſture their cattle; let " them retain lands for that purpoſe; but let them not, while " they feed their horſes, reduce mankind to the neceſſity of " periſhing by famine. Let them not prefer a dreary ſolitude " to the intereſts of humanity. The affections of a people, " willing to live in friendſhip with them, are preferable to a wide " waſte of barren lands. The excluſive poſſeſſion of the country " in queſtion was by no means a novelty. It had been occu- " pied, firſt by the Chamavians *(c)*; after them, by the Tuban- " tes; and, finally, by the Uſipians. The firmament over our " heads is the manſion of the gods; the earth was given to " man; and what remains unoccupied, lies in common for all." At theſe words, he looked up to the ſun, and appealing to the whole planetary ſyſtem, aſked with a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, as if the heavenly luminaries were actually preſent, whether an uncultivated deſert, the deſolation of nature, gave a proſpect fit for them to ſurvey? Would they not rather let looſe the ocean, to overwhelm in a ſudden deluge a race of men, who made it their trade to carry devaſtation through the nations, and make the world a wilderneſs?

LVI. AVITUS anſwered in a deciſive tone, that the law of the ſtrongeſt muſt prevail. " The gods, whom Boiocalus invoked, " had ſo ordained. By their high will, the Romans were in- " veſted with ſupreme authority: to give, or take away was " their prerogative; they were the ſovereign arbiters, and would " admit no other judges." Such was the anſwer given in public to the Anſibarians. To Boiocalus, in conſideration of his former merit, an allotment of lands was privately offered. The German conſidered it as the price of treachery, and rejected it

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with diſdain: "The earth," he ſaid, "may not afford a ſpot "where we may dwell in peace; a place where we may die we "can never want." The interview ended here. Both ſides departed with mutual animoſity. The Anſibarians prepared for war. They endeavoured to rouſe the Bructerians *(a)*, the Tencterians, and other nations ſtill more remote. Avitus ſent diſpatches to Curtilius Mancia, the commander in chief on the Upper Rhine, with inſtructions to croſs the river, and ſhew himſelf in the rear of the enemy. In the mean time, he put himſelf at the head of his legions, and entered the country of the Tencterians *(b)*, threatening to carry ſword and fire through their territories, if they did not forthwith renounce the confederacy. The Barbarians laid down their arms. The Bructerians in a panic followed their example. Terror and conſternation ſpread through the country. In the cauſe of others none were willing to encounter certain danger.

In this diſtreſs, the Anſibarians, abandoned by all, retreated to the Uſipians and Tubantes. Being there rejected, they ſought protection from the Cattians, and afterwards from the Cheruſcans. In the end, worn out with long and painful marches, no where received as friends, in moſt places repulſed as enemies, and wanting every thing in a foreign land, the whole nation periſhed. The young, and ſuch as were able to carry arms, were put to the ſword; the reſt were ſold to ſlavery.

LVII. In the courſe of the ſame ſummer, a battle was fought, with great rage and ſlaughter, between the Hermundurians and the Cattians *(a)*. The excluſive property of a river, which flowed between both nations, impregnated with ſtores of ſalt *(b)*, was the cauſe of their mutual animoſity. To the natural fierceneſs of Barbarians, who know no deciſion but that of the ſword, they

added the gloomy motives of ſuperſtition. According to the creed of thoſe ſavage nations, that part of the world lay in the vicinity of the heavens, and thence the prayers of men were wafted to the ear of the gods. The whole region was, by conſequence, peculiarly favoured; and to that circumſtance it was to be aſcribed, that the river and the adjacent woods teemed with quantities of ſalt *(c)*, not, as in other places, a concretion on the ſea-ſhore, formed by the foaming of the waves, but produced by the ſimple act of throwing the water from the ſtream on a pile of burning wood, where, by the conflict of oppoſite elements, the ſubſtance was engendered. For this ſalt a bloody battle was fought. Victory declared in favour of the Hermundurians. The event was the more deſtructive to the Cattians, as both armies, with their uſual ferocity, had devoted the vanquiſhed as a ſacrifice to Mars and Mercury. By that horrible vow, men and horſes, with whatever belonged to the routed army, were doomed to deſtruction. The vengeance meditated by the Cattians fell with redoubled fury on themſelves.

About the ſame time, a dreadful and unforeſeen diſaſter befel the Ubians, a people in alliance with Rome. By a ſudden eruption of ſubterraneous fire, their farms, their villages, their cities, and their habitations were all involved in one general conflagration. The flames extended far and wide, and well nigh reached the Roman colony, lately founded in that part of Germany. The fire raged with ſuch violence, that neither the rain from the heavens, nor the river-waters could extinguiſh it. Every remedy failed, till the peaſants, driven to deſperation, threw in heaps of ſtones, and checked the fury of the flames. The miſchief beginning to ſubſide, they advanced with clubs, as if to attack a troop of wild beaſts. Having beat down the fire, they ſtripped off their cloaths, and throwing them, wet and beſmeared

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beſmeared with filth, upon the flames, extinguiſhed the conflagration.

LVIII. THIS year the tree, called RUMINALIS *(a)*, which ſtood in the place aſſigned for public elections, and eight hundred and forty years before *(b)* had given ſhelter to the infancy of Romulus and Remus, began to wither in all its branches. The ſapleſs trunk ſeemed to threaten a total decay. This was conſidered as a dreadful prognoſtic, till new buds expanding into leaf, the tree recovered its former verdure.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

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NERO's paſſion for Poppæa, and his hatred of Agrippina his mother more violent than ever. Agrippina tries to regain his affections, but in vain. Nero approves of a ſcheme to drown her in the ſea. A ſhip conſtructed for the purpoſe. Agrippina eſcapes from the wreck. Nero enraged ſends Anicetus, the commander of the fleet at Miſenum, to murder her. XI. *Nero's letter to the ſenate juſtifying the murder. Supplications decreed to the gods. Pætus Thraſea goes out of the ſenate full of indignation.* XIII. *Nero ruſhes into every exceſs. He drives chariots, plays on the flute, and compels men of family to appear on the ſtage. He exhibits in public, and turns poet.* XVII. *A dreadful fray between the inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeium.* XVIII. *Complaints preferred to the ſenate by the Cyrenians. Death of Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two famous orators: their characters.* XX. *Quinquennial games eſtabliſhed by Nero: obſervations on that inſtitution.* XXII. *A comet portends a change of government. Rubellius Plautus driven into baniſhment.* XXIII. *The wiſe and gallant conduct of Corbulo in Armenia. He takes Artaxata, and afterwards Tigranocerta, and places Tigranes on the throne of Armenia.* XXVII. *Laodicea, a city in Aſia, deſtroyed by an earthquake. Imprudent and impolitic management of the Roman government in regard to the colonies.* XXVIII. *The election of prætors ſettled by the prince.* XXIX. *A general inſurrection in Britain. Sue-*

tonius Paulinus ſent to command the army. He takes the iſle of Mona (now Angleſey), and deſtroys the religious groves. During his abſence in thoſe parts, a general maſſacre of the Romans. The province almoſt loſt, but recovered by Suetonius, who defeats Boadicea with prodigious ſlaughter. XL. *The governor, or præfect of Rome, murdered by one of his ſlaves. Debates in the ſenate about the puniſhment of all ſlaves in the houſe at the time of a murder committed on the maſter.* XLVI. *Tarquitius Priſcus condemned. Death of Memmius Regulus: his character. Nero dedicates a ſchool for athletic exerciſes. The law of majeſty revived. Antiſtius, the prætor, proſecuted for a ſatyrical poem on the emperor. The ſenate willing to inflict a capital puniſhment: Pætus Thraſea oppoſes the motion: the majority vote on his ſide.* LI. *Burrhus dies univerſally lamented.* LII. *Attempts againſt Seneca: his enemies undermine him with the prince. His interview with Nero: his ſpeech, and the prince's anſwer.* LVII. *Tigellinus in high favour: by his advice Sylla murdered at Marſeilles, and Plautus in Aſia.* LX. *Nero repudiates his wife Octavia, and marries Poppæa. An inſurrection of the populace. Anicetus ſuborned by Nero to confeſs himſelf guilty of adultery with Octavia. She is baniſhed by Nero to the iſle of Pandatavia, and ſoon after murdered.*

Theſe tranſactions include near four years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls
812	59	*Caius Vipſtanus Apronianus, Lucius Fonteius Capito.*
813	60	*Nero, 4th time, Coſſus Cornelius Lentulus.*
814	61	*Cæſonius Pætus, Petronius Turpilianus.*
815	62	*P. Marius Celſus, L. Aſinius Gallus.*

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

I. CAIUS VIPSTANUS and Lucius Fonteius ſucceeded to the conſulſhip. Nero was determined no longer to defer the black deſign which had lain for ſome time foſtered in his heart. He had gained in four years a taſte of power, and was now grown ſanguine enough to think that he might hazard a daring ſtride in guilt. His love for Poppæa kindled every day to higher ardour. To be the imperial wife was the ambition of that aſpiring beauty; but while Agrippina lived, ſhe could not hope to ſee Octavia divorced from the emperor. She began, by whiſpered calumny, to undermine the emperor's mother, and, at times, in a vein of pleaſantry, to alarm the pride and jealouſy of Nero. With an air of raillery ſhe called him a pupil, ſtill under

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tuition; a dependant on the will of others, in fancy guiding the reins of government, but, in reality, deprived of perſonal liberty. "For what other reaſon was her marriage ſo long deferred? "Had her perſon already loſt the power of pleaſing? Were "the triumphal honours obtained by her anceſtors a bar to her "preferment? Or, was it ſuppoſed that ſhe was not of a fruitful "conſtitution, capable of bearing children? Perhaps the ſincerity "of her love was called in queſtion. No; the voice of a wife "might be heard, and the pride and avarice with which an im-"perious mother inſulted the ſenate and oppreſſed the people, "might be expoſed in open day. If, however, it was a ſettled "point with Agrippina, that no one but the boſom plague of "the emperor ſhould be her daughter-in-law, Poppæa could "return to the embraces of Otho *(a)*; with him ſhe could re-"tire to ſome remote corner of the world, where ſhe might hear, "indeed, of the emperor's diſgrace, but at a diſtance, with the "conſolation of neither being a ſpectatreſs of the ſcene, nor a "ſharer in his afflictions." By theſe and ſuch like ſuggeſtions, intermixed with tears and female artifice, ſhe enſnared the heart of Nero. No one attempted to weaken her influence. To ſee the pride of Agrippina humbled was the wiſh of all; but that the ſon would renounce the ties of natural affection, and imbrue his hands in the blood of his mother, was what never entered the imagination of any man.

II. In the hiſtory of thoſe times tranſmitted to us by Cluvius, we read, that Agrippina, in her rage for power, did not ſcruple to meet the emperor about the middle of the day, as he roſe from table, high in blood, and warm with wine. Having adorned her perſon to the beſt advantage, ſhe hoped, in thoſe moments, to incite deſire, and allure him to the unnatural union. Wanton play and amorous dalliance were ſeen by the confi-

dential attendants, and deemed a certain prelude to the act of criminal gratification. Againſt the artifices of one woman Seneca reſolved to play off the charms of another, and Acté *(a)* was accordingly employed. The jealouſy of the concubine was eaſily alarmed: ſhe ſaw her own danger, and the infamy that awaited the prince. Being taught her leſſon, ſhe gave notice to Nero that he was publicly charged with inceſt, while his mother gloried in the crime. The army, ſhe ſaid, would revolt from a man plunged in vice of ſo deep a dye. Fabius Ruſticus differs from this account. If we believe that author, Agrippina did not ſeek this vile pollution. It was the unnatural paſſion of Nero, and Acté had the addreſs to wean him from it. Cluvius, however, is confirmed by the teſtimony of other writers. The report of common fame is alſo on his ſide. Men were willing to believe the worſt of Agrippina. If ſhe was not, in fact, guilty of a deſign ſo deteſtable, a new inclination, however ſhocking to nature, ſeemed probable in a woman of her character; who, in the prime of her youth, from motives of ambition, reſigned her perſon to Lepidus *(b)*; who afterwards, with the ſame view, deſcended to be the proſtitute of Pallas, and, to crown the whole, by an inceſtuous marriage with her uncle, avowed herſelf capable of the worſt of crimes.

III. From this time Nero ſhunned the preſence of his mother. Whenever ſhe went to her gardens, or to either of her ſeats at Tuſculum *(a)* or Antium, he commended her taſte for the pleaſures of retirement. At length, deteſting her wherever ſhe was, he determined to diſpatch her at once. How to execute his purpoſe, whether by poiſon, or the poniard, was the only difficulty. The former ſeemed the moſt adviſable; but to adminiſter it at his own table might be dangerous, ſince the fate of Britannicus was too well known. To tamper with her domeſtics

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meſtics was equally unſafe. A woman of her caſt, practiſed in guilt, and inured to evil deeds, would be upon her guard; and beſides, by the habit of uſing antidotes, ſhe was fortified againſt every kind of poiſon. To aſſaſſinate her, and yet conceal the murder, was impracticable. Nero had no ſettled plan, nor was there among his creatures a ſingle perſon in whom he could confide.

In this embarraſſment Anicetus offered his aſſiſtance. This man had a genius for the worſt iniquity. From the rank of an enfranchiſed ſlave he roſe to the command of the fleet that lay at Miſenum. He had been tutor to Nero in his infancy, and always at variance with Agrippina. Mutual hoſtility produced mutual hatred. He propoſed the model of a ſhip upon a new conſtruction, formed in ſuch a manner that, in the open ſea, part might give way at once, and plunge Agrippina to the bottom. The ocean, he ſaid, was the element of diſaſters; and if the veſſel foundered, malignity itſelf could not convert into a crime what would appear to be the effect of adverſe winds and boiſterous waves. After her deceaſe the prince would have nothing to do but to raiſe a temple to her memory. Altars and public monuments would be proofs of filial piety.

IV. NERO approved of the ſtratagem, and the circumſtances of the time conſpired to favour it. The court was then at Baiæ, to celebrate, during five days, the feſtival called the QUINQUATRUA *(a)*. Agrippina was invited to be of the party. To tempt her thither Nero changed his tone. "The humours of "a parent claimed indulgence; for ſudden ſtarts of paſſion "allowance ought to be made, and petty reſentments could not "be effaced too ſoon." By this artifice he hoped to circulate an opinion of his entire reconciliation, and Agrippina, he had no

doubt, with the eaſy credulity of her ſex, would be the dupe of a report that flattered her wiſhes. She ſailed from Antium to attend the feſtival. The prince went to the ſea-coaſt to receive her. He gave her his hand; he embraced her tenderly, and conducted her to a villa called Bauli *(b)*, in a pleaſant ſituation, waſhed by the ſea, where it forms a bay between the cape of Miſenum and the gulph of Baiæ. Among the veſſels that lay at anchor, one in particular, more ſuperb than the reſt, ſeemed intended by its decorations to do honour to the emperor's mother. Agrippina was fond of ſailing parties. She frequently made coaſting voyages in a galley with three ranks of oars, and mariners ſelected from the fleet. The banquet, of which ſhe was to partake, was fixed at a late hour, that the darkneſs of the night might favour the perpetration of an atrocious deed.

But the ſecret tranſpired: on the firſt intelligence, Agrippina, it is ſaid, could ſcarce give credit to ſo black a ſtory. She choſe, however, to be conveyed to Baiæ in a land carriage. Her fears, as ſoon as ſhe arrived, were diſſipated by the polite addreſs of her ſon. He gave her the moſt gracious reception, and placed her at table above himſelf. He talked with frankneſs, and, by intermixing ſallies of youthful vivacity with more ſedate converſation, had the ſkill to blend the gay, the airy, and the ſerious. He protracted the pleaſures of the ſocial meeting to a late hour, when Agrippina thought it time to retire. The prince attended her to the ſhore; he exchanged a thouſand fond endearments, and, claſping her to his boſom, fixed his eyes upon her with ardent affection, perhaps intending, under the appearance of filial piety, to diſguiſe his purpoſe; or, it might be, that the ſight of a mother doomed to deſtruction, might make even a heart like his yield, for a moment, to the touch of nature.

V. That

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V. That this iniquitous ſcene ſhould not be wrapped in darkneſs, the care of Providence ſeems to have interpoſed. The night was calm and ſerene; the ſtars ſhot forth their brighteſt luſtre, and the ſea preſented a ſmooth expanſe. Agrippina went on board, attended by only two of her domeſtic train. One of them, Crepereius Gallus, took his place near the ſteerage; the other, a female attendant, by name Acerronia, ſtretched herſelf at the foot of the bed where her miſtreſs lay, and in the fullneſs of her heart expreſſed her joy to ſee the ſon awakened to a ſenſe of his duty, and the mother reſtored to his good graces. The veſſel had made but little way, when, on a ſignal given, the deck over Agrippina's cabbin fell in at once. Being loaded with lead, Crepereius was cruſhed under the weight. The props of the bed-room, happening to be of a ſolid ſtructure, bore up the load, and ſaved both Agrippina and her ſervant. Nor did the veſſel, as was intended, fall to pieces at once. Conſternation, hurry, and confuſion followed. The innocent, in a panic, buſtled to and fro, embarraſſing and confounding ſuch as were in the plot. To heave the ſhip on one ſide, and ſink her at once, was the deſign of the accomplices: but not acting in concert, and the reſt making contrary efforts, the veſſel went down by ſlow degrees. This gave the paſſengers an opportunity of eſcaping from the wreck, and truſting to the mercy of the waves.

Acerronia, in her fright, called herſelf Agrippina, and, with pathetic accents, implored the mariners to ſave the emperor's mother. The aſſaſſins fell upon her with their oars, with their poles, and with whatever inſtruments they could ſeize. She died under repeated blows. Agrippina huſhed her fears; not a word eſcaping from her, ſhe paſſed undiſtinguiſhed by the murderers, without any other damage than a wound on her ſhoulder.

ſhoulder. She daſhed into the ſea, and, by ſtruggling with all her efforts, kept herſelf above water till the ſmall barks put off from the ſhore, and, coming in good time to her aſſiſtance, conveyed her up the Lucrine lake *(a)* to her own villa.

VI. She was now at leiſure to reflect on the miſery of her ſituation. The treachery of her ſon's letter, conceived in terms of affection, and his mock civility, were too apparent. Without a guſt of wind, and without touching a rock, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, the veſſel broke down from the upper deck, like a piece of mechaniſm conſtructed for the purpoſe. The death of Acerronia, and the wound which ſhe herſelf received, were deciſive circumſtances. But even in that juncture ſhe thought it beſt to temporiſe. Againſt powerful enemies not to ſee too much is the ſafeſt policy. She ſent her freedman Agerinus to inform her ſon that, by the favour of the gods, and the good auſpices of the emperor, ſhe had eſcaped from a ſhipwreck. The news, ſhe had no doubt, would affect her ſon, but, for the preſent, ſhe wiſhed he would forbear to viſit her. In her ſituation, reſt was all ſhe wanted. Having diſpatched her meſſenger, ſhe aſſumed an air of courage; ſhe got her wound dreſſed, and uſed all proper applications. With an air of eaſe ſhe called for the laſt will of Acerronia, and, having ordered an inventory to be made of her effects, ſecured every thing under her own ſeal; acting in this ſingle article without diſſimulation.

VII. Nero, in the mean time, expected, with impatience, an account of his mother's death. Intelligence at laſt was brought that ſhe ſtill ſurvived, wounded, indeed, and knowing from what quarter the blow was aimed. The prince heard the news with terror and aſtoniſhment. In the hurry of his imagination he ſaw his mother already at hand, fierce with indignation, calling

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aloud for vengeance, and rouſing her ſlaves to an inſurrection. She might have recourſe to the army, and ſtir up a rebellion; ſhe might open the whole dark tranſaction to the ſenate; ſhe might carry her complaints to the ear of the people. Her wound, the wreck, the murder of her friends, every circumſtance would inflame reſentment. What courſe remained for him? Where was Seneca? and where was Burrhus? He had ſent for them on the firſt alarm: they came with expedition, but whether ſtrangers to the plot, remains uncertain. They ſtood, for ſome time, fixed in ſilence. To diſſuade the emperor from his fell deſign, they knew was not in their power; and, in the preſent dilemma, they ſaw, perhaps, that Agrippina muſt fall, or Nero periſh. Seneca, though on all other occaſions ready to take the lead, fixed his eyes on Burrhus. After a pauſe, he deſired to know whether it were adviſable to order the ſoldiers to complete the buſineſs? Burrhus was of opinion, that the prætorian ſoldiers, devoted to the houſe of Cæſar, and ſtill reſpecting the memory of Germanicus, would not be willing to ſpill the blood of his daughter. It was for Anicetus to finiſh the laſt act of the tragedy.

That bold aſſaſſin undertook the buſineſs. He deſired to have the cataſtrophe in his own hands. Nero revived at the ſound. From that day, he ſaid, the imperial dignity would be his, and that mighty benefit would be conferred by an enfranchiſed ſlave. "Haſte, fly," he cried; "take with you men fit for your purpoſe, and conſummate all." Anicetus heard that a meſſage was ſent by Agrippina, and that Agerinus was actually arrived. His ready invention planned a new ſcene of villany. While the meſſenger was in the act of addreſſing the prince, he dropped a poniard between his legs, and inſtantly, as if he had diſcovered a treaſonable deſign, ſeized the man, and loaded him with irons, from

from that circumſtance taking colour to charge Agrippina with a plot againſt the life of her ſon. When ſhe was diſpoſed of, a report that, in deſpair, ſhe put an end to her life, would be an apt addition to the fable.

VIII. MEANWHILE, the news of Agrippina's danger ſpread an alarm round the country. The general cry imputed it to accident. The people ruſhed in crowds to the ſea-ſhore; they went on the piers that projected into the ſea: they filled the boats; they waded as far as they could venture; ſtretching forth their hands, and calling aloud for help: the bay reſounded with ſhrieks and lamentations, with diſtracting queſtions, diſſonant anſwers, and a wild confuſion of voices. Amidſt the uproar, numbers came with lighted torches. Finding that Agrippina was ſafe, they preſſed forward to offer their congratulations, when a body of armed ſoldiers, threatening violence, obliged the whole crowd to diſperſe. Anicetus planted a guard round the manſion of Agrippina, and having burſt open the gates, he ſeized the ſlaves, and forced his way to her apartment.

A few domeſtics remained at the door to guard the entrance; fear had diſperſed the reſt. In the room, the pale glimmer of a feeble light was ſeen, and only one maid in waiting. Before the ruffians broke in, Agrippina paſſed the moments in dreadful agitation: ſhe wondered that no meſſenger arrived from her ſon. What detained Agerinus? She liſtened, and on the coaſt where, not long before, the whole was tumult, noiſe, and confuſion, a diſmal ſilence prevailed, broken, at intervals, by a ſudden uproar, that added to the horror of the ſcene. Agrippina trembled for herſelf. Her ſervant was leaving the room: ſhe called to her, "And do you too deſert me?" In that inſtant ſhe ſaw Anicetus entering the chamber. Herculeus, who had the com-

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mand of a galley, and Oloaritus, a marine centurion, followed him. "If you come," ſaid Agrippina, "from the prince, tell "him I am well; if your intents are murderous, you are not "ſent by my ſon: the guilt of parricide is foreign to his heart." The ruffians ſurrounded her bed. The centurion of the marines was drawing his ſword: at the ſight Agrippina preſented her perſon, "And here," ſhe ſaid, "PLUNGE YOUR SWORD "IN MY WOMB." Herculeus, in that moment, gave the firſt blow with a club, and wounded her on the head. She expired under a number of mortal wounds.

IX. THE facts here related ſtand confirmed by the concurrent teſtimony of hiſtorians. It is added, but not with equal authority, that Nero beheld his mother ſtretched in death, and praiſed the elegance of her form. This, however, is denied by other writers. The body was laid out on a common couch, ſuch as is uſed at meals, and, without any other ceremony, burnt that very night During the life of Nero, no honour was offered to her remains; no tomb was erected to tell where ſhe lay: nor was there ſo much as a mound of earth to incloſe the place. After ſome time an humble monument *(a)* was raiſed by her domeſtics on the road to Miſenum, near the villa *(b)* of Cæſar the Dictator, which, from an eminence, commands a beautiful proſpect of the ſea and the bays along the coaſt. Mneſter, one of the enfranchiſed ſlaves of Agrippina, attended the funeral. As ſoon as the pile was lighted, this man, unwilling to ſurvive his miſtreſs, or, perhaps, dreading the malice of her enemies, diſpatched himſelf with his own ſword. Of her own dreadful cataſtrophe Agrippina had warning many years before, when conſulting the Chaldæans about the future lot of her ſon, ſhe was told, that he would reign at Rome, and

kill his mother. "Let him," ſhe ſaid, "let him kill me, but "let him reign."

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X. THIS dreadful parricide was no ſooner executed, than Nero began to feel the horrors of his guilt. He lay, during the reſt of the night, on the rack of his own mind; ſilent, penſive, ſtarting up with ſudden fear, wild and diſtracted. He lifted his eyes in queſt of day-light, yet dreaded its approach. The tribunes and centurions, by the advice of Burrhus, were the firſt to adminiſter conſolation. The flattery of theſe men raiſed him from deſpair. They graſped his hand, congratulating him on his eſcape from the dark deſigns of his mother. His friends crowded to the temples to offer up their thanks to the gods. The neighbouring cities of Campania followed their example. They offered victims, and ſent addreſſes to the prince. Nero played a different part: he appeared with a dejected mien, weary of life, and inconſolable for the loſs of his mother. But the face of a country cannot, like the features of man, aſſume a new appearance. The ſea and the adjacent coaſt preſented to his eyes a ſcene of guilt and horror. It was reported at the time that the ſound of trumpets was diſtinctly heard along the ridge of the hills, and groans and ſhrieks iſſued from Agrippina's grave. Nero removed to Naples, and from that place diſpatched letters to the ſenate, in ſubſtance as follows:

XI. "AGERINUS, the freedman of Agrippina, and of all her "creatures the higheſt in her confidence, was found armed with "a poniard; and the blow being prevented, with the ſame ſpirit "that planned the murder of her ſon, ſhe diſpatched herſelf." The letter proceeded to ſtate a number of paſt tranſactions: "Her ambition aimed at a ſhare in the ſupreme power, and "the prætorian bands were obliged to take an oath of fidelity

"to

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" to her. The ſenate and the people were to ſubmit to the ſame " indignity, and bear the yoke of female tyranny. Seeing her " ſchemes defeated, ſhe became an enemy to the fathers, to the " ſoldiers, and the whole community; ſhe neither ſuffered a " donative to be diſtributed to the army, nor a largeſs to the " populace. At her inſtigation proſecutions were ſet on foot " againſt the beſt and moſt illuſtrious men in Rome. If ſhe " did not enter the ſenate, and give audience to the ambaſſa- " dors of foreign nations *(a)*, all would remember how that " diſgrace was prevented." The reign of Claudius did not eſcape his animadverſion; but whatever were the enormities of that period, Agrippina, he ſaid, was the cauſe of all. Her death was an event in which the good fortune of the empire was ſignally diſplayed. He gave a circumſtantial account of the ſhipwreck: but what man exiſted, ſo abſurd and ſtupid, as to believe it the effect of chance? Was it probable that a woman, who had juſt eſcaped from the fury of the waves, would ſend a ſingle ruffian to attempt the life of a prince, ſurrounded by his guards and his naval officers? The indignation of the public was not confined to Nero: with regard to him, who had plunged in guilt beyond all example, it was uſeleſs to complain. Cenſure was loſt in mute aſtoniſhment. The popular odium fell on Seneca: his pen was ſeen in the prince's letters, and the attempt to gloſs and varniſh ſo vile a deed, was conſidered as the avowal of an accomplice.

XII. THE voice of the people did not reſtrain the adulation of the ſenate. Several decrees were paſſed in a ſtrain of ſervile flattery; ſuch as ſupplications and ſolemn vows at all the altars throughout the city of Rome; the feſtival called the Quinquatrua (during which the late conſpiracy was detected) were to be celebrated, for the future, with the addition of public games;

games; the ſtatue of Minerva, wrought in gold, to be placed in the ſenate-houſe, with that of the emperor near it; and finally, the anniverſary of Agrippina's birth-day to be unhallowed in the calendar. Pætus Thraſea had been often preſent, when the fathers deſcended to acts of meanneſs, and he did not riſe in oppoſition; but, upon this occaſion, he left his ſeat, and walked out of the houſe, by his virtue provoking future vengeance, yet doing no ſervice to the cauſe of liberty.

There happened, about this time, a number of prodigies, all deemed ſtriking prognoſtics, but no conſequences followed. A woman was delivered of a ſerpent: another died in the embrace of her huſband, by a ſtroke of thunder. The ſun ſuffered an eclipſe *(a)*, and the fourteen quarters of Rome were ſtruck with lightning. In theſe extraordinary appearances the hand of providence, it is evident, did not interpoſe; ſince the vices and tyranny of Nero continued to haraſs mankind for ſeveral years. The policy of the prince had now two objects in view; the firſt to blacken the memory of his mother; and the ſecond, to amuſe the people with a ſhow of his own clemency, when left, without controul, to the bent of his own inclination. To this end, he recalled from baniſhment, to which they had been condemned by the vindictive ſpirit of Agrippina, two illuſtrious women, namely, Junia *(b)* and Calpurnia, together with Valerius Capito, and Licinius Gabolus, both of prætorian rank. He permitted the aſhes of Lollia Paulina *(c)* to be brought to Rome, and a mauſoleum to be erected to her memory. To Iturius and Calviſius *(d)*, whom his own violence had driven into exile, he granted a free pardon. Silana *(e)* had paid her debt to nature. Towards the end of Agrippina's life, when the power of that princeſs began to decline, or her reſentment to be appeaſed, ſhe

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had obtained leave to return from her diſtant exile as far as Tarentum. At that place ſhe cloſed her days.

XIII. NERO loitered in the towns of Campania, full of doubt and perplexity, unable to determine how he ſhould enter the city of Rome. Would the ſenate receive him with a ſubmiſſive and complying ſpirit? Could he rely on the temper of the people? Theſe were points that made him anxious and irreſolute. The vile adviſers of his court (and never court abounded with ſo pernicious a race) interfered to animate his drooping ſpirit. They aſſured him, with confidence, that the name of Agrippina was held in deteſtation, and, ſince her death, the affections of the people for the perſon of the emperor knew no bounds. He had only to ſhew himſelf, and it would be ſeen that he reigned in the hearts of the multitude. To prepare the way, they deſired leave to enter the city of Rome before him.

On their arrival, they found all things favourable beyond their hopes; they ſaw the ſeveral tribes going forth in proceſſion to meet the prince; the ſenate in their robes of ſtate; whole crowds of women, with their children, ranged in claſſes according to their reſpective ages, in the ſtreets through which Nero was to paſs; rows of ſcaffolding built up, and an amphitheatre of ſpectators, as if a triumph were to enter the city. Nero made his entry, flushed with the pride of victory over the minds of willing ſlaves, and proceeded, amidſt the acclamations of gazing multitudes, to the capitol, where he offered thanks to the gods. From that moment he threw off all reſtraint. The authority of his mother, feeble as it was, had hitherto curbed the violence of his paſſions: but that check being now removed, he broke out at once, and gave a full diſplay of his character.

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XIV. To acquire the fame of a charioteer, and to figure in the race with a curricle and four horſes, had been long the favourite paſſion of Nero. He had beſides another frivolous talent: he could play on the harp, and ſing to his own performance. With this pitiful ambition he had been often the minſtrel of convivial parties. He juſtified his taſte by obſerving, that "in ancient "times, it had been the practice of heroes and of kings. The "names of illuſtrious perſons, who conſecrated their talents to "the honour of the gods, were preſerved in immortal verſe. "Apollo was the tutelar deity of melody and ſong; and, though "inveſted with the higher attributes of inſpiration and prophecy, "he was repreſented, not only in the cities of Greece, but alſo "in the Roman temples, with a lyre in his hand, and the dreſs "of a muſical performer." The rage of Nero for theſe amuſements was not to be controuled. Seneca and Burrhus endeavoured to prevent the ridicule, to which a prince might expoſe himſelf by exhibiting his talents to the multitude. By their direction, a wide ſpace, in the vale at the foot of the Vatican *(a)*, was incloſed for the uſe of the emperor, that he might there manage the reins, and practiſe all his ſkill, without being a ſpectacle for the public eye. But his love of fame was not to be confined within thoſe narrow bounds. He invited the multitude. They extolled, with raptures, the abilities of a prince, who gratified their darling paſſion for public diverſions.

The two governors were in hopes that their pupil, as ſoon as he had his frolic, would be ſenſible of the diſgrace; but the effect was otherwiſe. The applauſe of the populace inſpired him with freſh ardour. To keep himſelf in countenance, he conceived, if he could bring the practice into faſhion, that his own infamy would be loſt in the diſgrace of others. With this view, he caſt his eye on the deſcendants of families once illuſ-

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trious, but at that time fallen to decay. From that claſs of men he ſelected the moſt neceſſitous, ſuch as would be eaſily tempted to let themſelves out for hire. He retained them as actors, and produced them on the public ſtage. Their names I forbear to mention: though they are now no more, the honour of their anceſtors claims reſpect. The diſgrace recoils on him, who choſe to employ his treaſure, not for the noble end of preventing ſcandal, but to procure it. Nor was he willing to ſtop here: by vaſt rewards he bribed ſeveral Roman knights to deſcend into the Arena, and preſent a ſhow to the people. The ſituation of theſe unhappy men deſerves our pity: for what are the bribes of an abſolute prince, but the commands of him who has power to compel?

XV. NERO was not as yet hardy enough to expoſe his perſon on a public ſtage. To gratify his paſſion for ſcenic amuſements, and at the ſame time to ſave appearances, he eſtabliſhed an entertainment, called the JUVENILE SPORTS. To promote this inſtitution, numbers of the firſt diſtinction enrolled their names. Neither rank, nor age, nor civil honours were an exemption. All degrees embraced the theatrical art, and, with emulation, became the rivals of Greek and Roman mimickry; proud to languiſh at the ſoft cadence of effeminate notes, and to catch the graces of wanton deportment. Women of rank *(a)* ſtudied the moſt laſcivious characters. In the grove planted round the lake, where Auguſtus gave his naval engagement, booths and places of recreation were erected, to pamper luxury, and inflame deſire. By the prince's orders ſums of money were diſtributed. Good men, through motives of fear, accepted the donation; and to the profligate, whatever miniſtered to ſenſuality, was ſure to be acceptable. Luxury and corruption triumphed.

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The manners, it is true, had, long before this time, fallen into degeneracy; but in theſe new aſſemblies a torrent of vice bore down every thing, beyond the example of former ages. Even in better days, when ſcience and the liberal arts had not entirely loſt their influence, virtue and modeſty could ſcarce maintain their poſt; but in an age, that openly profeſſed every ſpecies of depravity, what ſtand could be made by truth, by innocence, or by modeſt merit? The general corruption encouraged Nero to throw off all reſtraint. He mounted the ſtage, and became a public performer for the amuſement of the people. With his harp in his hand, he entered the ſcene; he tuned the chords with a graceful air, and with delicate flouriſhes gave a prelude to his art. He ſtood in a circle of his friends, a prætorian cohort on guard, and the tribunes and centurions near his perſon. Burrhus was alſo preſent, pleaſure in his countenance, and anguiſh at his heart. He grieved, while he applauded. At this time was inſtituted a company of Roman knights under the title of THE AUGUSTAN SOCIETY *(b)*, conſiſting of young men in the prime of life, ſome of them libertines from inclination, and others hoping by their profligacy to gain preferment. They attended, night and day, to applaud the prince; they admired the graces of his perſon, and, in the various notes of that exquiſite voice, they heard the melody of the gods, who were all excelled by the enchanting talents of the prince. The tribe of ſycophants aſſumed airs of grandeur, ſwelling with ſelf-importance, as if they were all riſing to preferment by their genius and their virtue.

XVI. THEATRICAL fame was not ſufficient for the ambition of Nero: he wiſhed to excel in poetry. All, who poſſeſſed the art of verſification, were aſſembled to aſſiſt his ſtudies. In this ſociety of wits, young men, not yet qualified by their years to figure in the world, diſplayed the firſt eſſays of their genius.

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They met in the deareſt intimacy. Scraps of poetry, by different hands *(a)*, were brought to the meeting, or compoſed on the ſpot; and thoſe fragments, however unconnected, they endeavoured to weave into a regular poem, taking care to inſert the words and phraſes of the emperor, as the moſt brilliant ornaments of the piece. That this was their method, appears from a peruſal of the ſeveral compoſitions, in which we ſee rhapſody without genius, verſe without poetry, and nothing like the work of one creative fancy. Nor was philoſophy diſregarded by the emperor. At ſtated hours, when his convivial joys were finiſhed, the profeſſors of wiſdom were admitted. Various ſyſtems were dogmatically ſupported; and to ſee the followers of different ſects quarrel about an hypotheſis was the amuſement of Nero. He ſaw beſides, among the venerable ſages, ſome with formal mien and looks of auſterity, who under an air of coyneſs plainly ſhewed that they reliſhed the pleaſures of a court.

XVII. About this time a dreadful fray broke out between the inhabitants of Nuceria *(a)* and Pompeii, two Italian colonies. The diſpute, ſlight in the beginning, ſoon roſe to violence, and terminated in blood. It happened that Livineus Regulus *(b)*, who, as already mentioned, had been expelled the ſenate, gave a ſpectacle of gladiators. At this meeting jeſts and raillery, and the rough wit of country towns, flew about among the populace; abuſe and ſcurrility followed; altercation excited anger; anger roſe to fury; ſtones were thrown, and finally they had recourſe to arms. The people of Pompeium, where the ſpectacle was given, were too ſtrong for their adverſaries. The Nucerians ſuffered in the conflict. Numbers of their friends, covered with wounds, were ſent to Rome. Sons wept for their parents, and parents for their children. The ſenate, to whom the matter was referred by the prince, directed an enquiry before

the conſuls, and, upon their report, paſſed a decree, prohibiting, for the ſpace of ten years, the like aſſemblies at Pompeium, and, moreover, diſſolving certain ſocieties eſtabliſhed in that city, and incorporated contrary to law. Livineius and others, who appeared to be ring-leaders in the riot, were ordered into baniſhment.

XVIII. At the ſuit of the Cyrenians, Pedius Blæſus *(a)* was expelled the ſenate. The charge againſt him was, that he had pillaged the ſacred treaſure of Æſculapius, and, in the buſineſs of liſting ſoldiers, had been guilty of receiving bribes, and committing various acts of groſs partiality. A complaint was preferred by the ſame people againſt Acilius Strabo, a man of prætorian rank, who had been ſent a commiſſioner by the emperor Claudius, with powers to aſcertain the boundaries of the lands which formerly belonged to king Apion *(b)*, and were by him bequeathed, with the reſt of his dominions, to the Roman people. Various intruders had entered on the vacant poſſeſſion, and from occupancy and length of time hoped to derive a legal title. The people, diſappointed in their expectations, appealed from the ſentence of Strabo. The ſenate, profeſſing to know nothing of the commiſſion granted by Claudius, referred the buſineſs to the deciſion of the prince. Nero ratified the award made by Strabo; but, to ſhew a mark of good will to the allies of Rome, he reſtored the lands in queſtion to the perſons, who had been diſpoſſeſſed.

XIX. In a ſhort time after died Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two illuſtrious citizens, eminent for the civil honours which they attained, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed by their eloquence. Afer had been a ſhining ornament of the bar: Servilius entered the ſame career, but having left the forum, gave a ſignal proof of his genius by a well digeſted hiſtory of Roman affairs.

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affairs. Elegant in his life and manners, he formed a contraſt to the rough character of Afer, to whom in point of genius he was every way equal, in probity and morals his ſuperior *(a)*.

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XX. NERO entered on his fourth conſulſhip, with Cornelius Coſſus for his colleague. On the model of the Greek olympics, he inſtituted public games to be celebrated every fifth year, and, for that reaſon, called quinquennial *(a)*. In this, as in all caſes of innovation, the opinions of men were much at variance. By ſuch as diſliked the meaſure, it was obſerved, "that even "Pompey, by building a permanent theatre *(b)*, gave offence to "the thinking men of that day. Before that period, an oc- "caſional theatre, with ſcenery and benches to ſerve the purpoſe, "was deemed ſufficient; and, if the enquiry were carried back "to ancient times, it would be found that the ſpectators were "obliged to ſtand during the whole repreſentation. The reaſon "was, that the people, accommodated with ſeats, might be "tempted to waſte whole days in idle amuſements. Public "ſpectacles were, indeed, of ancient origin, and, if ſtill left to "the direction of the prætor, might be exhibited with good "order and propriety. But the new mode of preſſing the citi- "zens of Rome into the ſervice of the ſtage had ruined all de- "corum. The manners had long ſince degenerated, and now, "to work their total ſubverſion, luxury was called in from every "quarter of the globe; foreign nations were ranſacked for the "incentives of vice; and, whatever was in itſelf corrupt, or "capable of diffuſing corruption, was to be found at Rome. "Exotic cuſtoms and a foreign taſte infected the young men of "the time; diſſipation, gymnaſtic arts, and infamous intrigues "were the faſhion, encouraged by the prince and the ſenate, and "not only encouraged, but eſtabliſhed by their ſanction, en- "forced by their authority.

"Under

" Under colour of promoting poetry and eloquence, the patri-
" cians of Rome diſgraced themſelves on the public ſtage. What
" further ſtep remained? Nothing, but to bare their bodies; to
" anoint their limbs; to come forth naked in the liſts; to wield
" the cæſtus, and, throwing aſide their military weapons, fight
" prizes for the entertainment of the rabble. Will the ſanctity
" of the augur's office, or the judicial character *(c)* of the Roman
" knights, edify by the manners now in vogue? Will the former
" be held in higher reverence, becauſe he has been lately taught
" to thrill with ecſtaſy at the ſoft airs of an effeminate ſong?
" And will the judge decide with greater ability, becauſe he
" affects to have a taſte, and to pronounce on muſic? Vice
" goes on increaſing; the night is added to the day; and, in
" mixed aſſemblies, the profligate libertine, under covert of the
" dark, may ſafely gratify the baſe deſires, which his imagina-
" tion formed in the courſe of the day."

XXI. LICENTIOUS pleaſure had a number of advocates; all of them the apologiſts of vice diſguiſed under ſpecious names. By theſe men it was argued, " that the citizens of Rome, in the
" earlieſt period, were addicted to public ſhows, and the expence
" kept pace with the wealth of the times. Pantomime players *(a)*
" were brought from Tuſcany, and horſe-races *(b)* from Thu-
" rium. When Greece and Aſia were reduced to ſubjection,
" the public games were exhibited with greater pomp; though
" it muſt be acknowledged, that in two hundred years (the time
" that elapſed from the triumph of Lucius Mummius *(c)*, who
" firſt introduced theatrical repreſentations) not one Roman
" citizen of rank or family was known to degrade himſelf by
" liſting in a troop of comedians. But it is alſo true, that, by
" erecting a permanent theatre, a great annual expence was
" avoided. The magiſtrate is now no longer obliged to ruin his
" private

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"private fortune for the diverſion of the public. The whole "expenditure is transferred to the ſtate, and, without encumber- "ing a ſingle individual, the people may enjoy the games of "Greece. The conteſts between poets and orators would raiſe "a ſpirit of emulation, and promote the cauſe of literature. "Nor will the judge be diſgraced, if he lends an ear to the "productions of genius, and ſhares the pleaſures of a liberal "mind. In the quinquennial feſtival, lately inſtituted, a few "nights, every fifth year, would be dedicated, not to criminal "gratifications, but to ſocial gaiety, in a place fitted for a large "aſſembly, and illuminated with ſuch a glare of light, that "clandeſtine vice would by conſequence be excluded."

Such was the argument of the advocates for diſſipation. It is but fair to acknowledge, that the celebration of the new feſtival was conducted without any offence againſt decency or good manners. Nor did the rage of the people for theatrical entertainments break out into any kind of exceſs. The panto-mime performers, though reſtored to the theatre, were ſtill ex-cluded from ſuch exhibitions as were held to be of a ſacred nature. The prize of eloquence was not adjudged to any of the candidates; but it was thought a fit compliment to the em-peror, to pronounce him conqueror. The Grecian garb, which was much in vogue during the feſtival, gave diſguſt, and from that time fell into diſuſe.

XXII. A COMET having appeared, in this juncture, that phænomenon, according to the popular opinion, announced that governments were to be changed, and kings dethroned. In the imaginations of men Nero was already depoſed, and who ſhould be his ſucceſſor was the queſtion. The name of Rubellius Plautus reſounded in every quarter. By the maternal line this eminent

eminent citizen was of the Julian houſe. A ſtrict obſerver of ancient manners, he maintained a rigid auſterity of character. Recluſe and virtuous in his family, he lived remote from danger, but his fame from the ſhade of obſcurity ſhone forth with brighter luſtre. The report of his elevation was confirmed by an accident, ſlight in itſelf, but by vulgar error received as a ſure prognoſtic. While Nero was at table at a villa called SUBLAQUEUM *(a)*, on the borders of the Simbruine lakes, it happened that the victuals, which had been ſerved up, received a ſtroke of lightning, and the banquet was overturned. The place was on the confines of Tivoli, where the anceſtors of Plautus by his father's ſide derived their origin. The omen, for that reaſon, made a deeper impreſſion, and the current opinion was, that Plautus was intended for imperial ſway. The men, whom bold, but often miſguided, ambition leads to take an active part in revolutions of government, were all on his ſide. To ſuppreſs a rumour ſo important, and big with danger, Nero ſent a letter to Plautus, adviſing him "to conſult the public tranquillity, and "withdraw himſelf from the reach of calumny. He had pa-"trimonial lands in Aſia, where he might paſs his youth, re-"mote from enemies, and undiſturbed by faction." Plautus underſtood the hint, and with his wife, Antiſtia, and a few friends, embarked for Aſia.

In a ſhort time after, Nero, by his rage for new gratifications, put his life in danger, and drew on himſelf a load of obloquy. He choſe to bathe at the fountain-head of the Marcian waters *(b)*, which had been brought to Rome in an aqueduct of ancient ſtructure. By this act of impurity he was thought to have polluted the ſacred ſtream, and to have profaned the ſanctity of the place. A fit of illneſs, which followed this frolic, left no

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doubt in the minds of the populace. The gods, they thought, purſued with vengeance the author of ſo vile a ſacrilege.

XXIII. We left Corbulo employed in the demolition of Artaxata *(a)*. That city being reduced to aſhes, he judged it right, while the conſternation of the people was ſtill recent, to turn his arms againſt Tigranocerta *(b)*. The deſtruction of that city would ſpread a general panic; or, if he ſuffered it to remain unhurt, the fame of his clemency would add new laurels to the conqueror, He began his march, and, that the Barbarians might not be driven to deſpair, preſerved every appearance of a pacific diſpoſition, ſtill maintaining diſcipline with the ſtricteſt rigour. He knew, by experience, that he had to do with a people prone to change; cowards in the hour of danger, but, if occaſion offered, prepared, by their natural genius, for a ſtroke of perfidy. At the ſight of the Roman eagles the Armenians were variouſly affected. They ſubmitted with humble ſupplications; they fled from their villages; they took ſhelter in their woods; and numbers, carrying off all that was dear to them, ſought a retreat in their dens and caverns. To theſe different movements the Roman general adapted his meaſures; to the ſubmiſſive he behaved with mercy; he ordered the fugitives to be purſued with vigour, but for ſuch as lay hid in ſubterraneous places he felt no compaſſion. Having filled the entrances, and every vent of the caverns, with buſhes and faggots, he ſet fire to the heap. The Barbarians periſhed in the flames. His march lay on the frontier of the Mardians *(c)*, a race of freebooters, who lived by depredation, ſecure on their hills and mountains from the aſſaults of the enemy. They poured down from their faſtneſſes, and inſulted the Roman army. Corbulo ſent a detachment of the Iberians to lay waſte their country, and thus

thus at the expence of foreign auxiliaries, without ſpilling a drop of Roman blood, he puniſhed the inſolence of the enemy.

XXIV. CORBULO had ſuffered no loſs in the field of battle; but his men, exhauſted by continual toil, and forced, for want of grain and vegetables, to ſubſiſt altogether on animal food, began to ſink under their fatigue. The heat of the ſummer was intenſe; no water to allay their thirſt; long and laborious marches ſtill remained; and nothing to animate the drooping ſpirits of the army but the example of their general, who endured more than even the common ſoldiers. They reached, at length, a well cultivated country, and carried off a plentiful crop. The Armenians fled for ſhelter to two ſtrong caſtles. One of them was taken by ſtorm; the other, after reſiſting the firſt aſſault, was by a cloſe blockade obliged to ſurrender. The army marched into the territories of the Tauranitians *(a)*. In that country Corbulo narrowly eſcaped a ſnare laid for his life. A Barbarian, of high diſtinction among his people, was found lurking with a concealed dagger near the general's tent. He was inſtantly ſeized, and, being put to the rack, not only confeſſed himſelf the author of the plot, but diſcovered his accomplices. The villains, who, under a maſk of friendſhip, meditated a foul aſſaſſination, were on examination found guilty of the treachery, and put to death. Ambaſſadors arrived ſoon after from Tigranocerta, with intelligence, that their gates ſtood open to receive the Roman army, and the inhabitants were ready to ſubmit at diſcretion. As an earneſt of hoſpitality and friendſhip they preſented a golden crown. Corbulo received it with all marks of honour. To conciliate the affections of the people, he did no damage to their city, and left the natives in full poſſeſſion of their effects.

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XXV. The royal citadel, which was conſidered as the ſtrong hold of the Armenian kings, did not immediately ſurrender. A band of ſtout and reſolute young men threw themſelves into the place, determined to hold out to the laſt. They had the ſpirit to ſally out, but, after a battle under the walls, were driven back within their lines, and, the Romans entering ſword in hand, the garriſon laid down their arms. This tide of ſucceſs, however rapid, was in a great meaſure forwarded by the war, that kept the Parthians engaged in Hyrcania. From the laſt-mentioned country ambaſſadors had been ſent to Rome, ſoliciting the alliance of the emperor, and, as an inducement, urging, that, in conſequence of their rupture with Vologeſes, they had made a powerful diverſion in favour of the Roman army: the deputies, on their way back to their own country, had an interview with Corbulo. The general received them with marks of friendſhip, and fearing, if they paſſed over the Euphrates, that they might fall in with detached parties of the Parthian army, he ordered them to be eſcorted, under a military guard, as far as the margin of the Red-ſea *(a)*. From that place, their road was at a diſtance from the Parthian frontier.

XXVI. Meanwhile, Tiridates *(a)*, after a march through the territory of the Medians, was hovering on the extremities of Armenia, intending from that quarter to invade the country. To counteract his motions, Corbulo diſpatched Verulanus with the auxiliary forces, and, to ſupport him, made a forced march at the head of the legions. Tiridates retired with precipitation, and, in deſpair, abandoned the war. The Roman general proceeded with ſeverity againſt all who were known to be diſaffected: he carried fire and ſword through their country, and took upon himſelf the government of Armenia. The whole king-

dom

dom was reduced to ſubjection, when Tigranes arrived from Rome, by the appointment of Nero, to aſſume the regal diadem. BOOK XIV. A. U. C. 813. A. D. 60.

The new monarch was by birth a Cappadocian, of high nobility in that country, and grandſon to king Archilaus *(b)*; but the length of time which he had paſſed at Rome in the condition of a hoſtage broke the vigour of his mind, and ſunk him to the meaneſt ſervility. He was not received with the conſent of the nation. A ſtrong party ſtill retained their old affection for the line of the Arſacides; but an inveterate antipathy to the Parthians, on account of their pride and arrogance, inclined the majority to accept a king from Rome. Corbulo placed Tigranes on the throne, and aſſigned him a body-guard, conſiſting of a thouſand legionary ſoldiers, three cohorts from the allied forces, and two ſquadrons of horſe. That his new kingdom might not prove unwieldy, parts of the country, as they happened to lie contiguous to the neighbouring princes, were parcelled out to Pharaſmanes *(c)*, to Polemon, Ariſtobulus, and Antiochus. Having made theſe arrangements, Corbulo marched back into Syria, to take upon him the adminiſtration of that province, vacant by the death of Ummidius Quadratus *(d)*, the late governor.

XXVII. In the courſe of the ſame year *(a)*, Laodicea, a celebrated city in Aſia, was deſtroyed by an earthquake, and though Rome in ſo great a calamity contributed no kind of aid, it was ſoon rebuilt, and, by the internal reſources of the inhabitants, recovered its former ſplendour. In Italy, the ancient city of Puteoli received new privileges, with the title of the Neronian colony. The veteran ſoldiers, entitled to their diſcharge from the ſervice, were incorporated with the citizens of Tarentum, and

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and Antium; but the meaſure did not increaſe population in thoſe deſerted places. The ſoldiers rambled back to the provinces, where they had formerly ſerved, and, by the habits of a military life, being little inclined to conjugal cares and the education of children, the greateſt part mouldered away without iſſue. The old ſyſtem of coloniſation was at this time greatly altered. Entire legions were not, as had been the practice, ſettled together, with their tribunes, their centurions, and ſoldiers, in one regular body, forming a ſociety of men known to each other, and by ſentiments of mutual affection inclined to act with a ſpirit of union. A colony, at the time we ſpeak of, was no more than a motley mixture, drawn together from different armies, without a chief at their head, without a principle to unite them, and, in fact, no better than a mere conflux of people from diſtant parts of the globe; a wild heterogeneous multitude, but not a colony.

XXVIII. The election of prætors had been hitherto ſubject to the diſcretion of the ſenate; but the ſpirit of competition breaking out with unuſual violence, Nero interpoſed his authority. He found three candidates more than uſual. By giving to each the command of a legion *(a)* he allayed the ferment. He alſo made a conſiderable addition to the dignity of the ſenate by an ordinance, requiring that, in all appeals from an inferior judicature to that aſſembly, a ſum equal *(b)* to what was cuſtomary in like caſes before the emperor, ſhould be depoſited by the appellant, to wait the final determination. Before this rule was eſtabliſhed, an appeal to the fathers was open to all, without being ſubject to coſts, or any kind of penalty. Towards the end of the year, Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was accuſed by the Moors *(c)* of rapine and extortion, and, being found guilty of the charge, was baniſhed out of Italy. For ſo mild a ſentence he

he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Vibius Criſpus *(d)*.

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XXIX. During the conſulſhip of Cæſonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus *(a)*, a dreadful calamity befel the army in Britain. Aulus Didius *(b)*, as has been mentioned, aimed at no extenſion of territory, content with maintaining the conqueſt already made. Veranius, who ſucceeded him, did little more: he made a few incurſions into the country of the Silures *(c)*, and was hindered by death from proſecuting the war with vigour. He had been reſpected, during his life, for the ſeverity of his manners; in his end, the maſk fell off, and his laſt will diſcovered the low ambition of a ſervile flatterer, who, in thoſe moments, could offer incenſe to Nero, and add, with vain oſtentation, that, if he lived two years, it was his deſign to make the whole iſland obedient to the authority of the prince. Paulinus Suetonius ſucceeded to the command; an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit. To be compared with Corbulo was his ambition. His military talents gave him pretenſions, and the voice of the people, who never leave exalted merit without a rival, raiſed him to the higheſt eminence. By ſubduing the mutinous ſpirit of the Britons he hoped to equal the brilliant ſucceſs of Corbulo in Armenia. With this view, he reſolved to ſubdue the iſle of Mona *(d)*; a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge for all the diſcontented Britons. In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and deceitful ſhore, he ordered a number of flat-bottomed boats to be conſtructed. In theſe he wafted over the infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording over the ſhallows, and partly by ſwimming their horſes, advanced to gain a footing on the iſland.

XXX. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the Britons, cloſe em-

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bodied, and prepared for action. Women were ſeen ruſhing through the ranks in wild diſorder; their apparel funereal; their hair looſe to the wind, in their hands flaming torches, and their whole appearance reſembling the frantic rage of the furies. The Druids *(a)* were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The novelty of the fight ſtruck the Romans with awe and terror. They ſtood in ſtupid amazement, as if their limbs were benumbed, rivetted to one ſpot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general diffuſed new vigour through the ranks, and the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the diſgrace of yielding to a troop of women, and a band of fanatic prieſts; they advanced their ſtandards, and ruſhed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons periſhed in the flames, which they themſelves had kindled. The iſland fell, and a garriſon was eſtabliſhed to retain it in ſubjection. The religious groves, dedicated to ſuperſtition and barbarous rites, were levelled to the ground. In thoſe receſſes, the natives imbrued their altars with the blood of their priſoners, and in the entrails of men explored the will of the gods. While Suetonius was employed in making his arrangements to ſecure the iſland, he received intelligence that Britain had revolted, and that the whole province was up in arms.

XXXI. PRASUTAGUS *(a)*, the late king of the Icenians, in the courſe of a long reign had amaſſed conſiderable wealth. By his will he left the whole to his two daughters and the emperor in equal ſhares, conceiving, by that ſtroke of policy, that he ſhould provide at once for the tranquillity of his kingdom and his family. The event was otherwiſe. His dominions were ravaged by the centurions; the ſlaves pillaged his houſe, and his effects were ſeized as lawful plunder. His wife, Boadicea,

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Boadicea, was disgraced with cruel stripes; her daughters were ravished, and the most illustrious of the Icenians were, by force, deprived of the possessions which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. The whole country was considered as a legacy bequeathed to the plunderers. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. Exasperated by these acts of violence, and dreading worse calamities, the Icenians had recourse to arms. The Trinobantians joined in the revolt. The neighbouring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves, in secret councils, to stand forth in the cause of liberty. What chiefly fired their indignation was the conduct of the veterans, lately planted as a colony at Camalodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression; they drove the natives from their habitations, and calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added insult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression, the veterans were supported by the common soldiers; a set of men, by their habits of life, trained to licentiousness, and, in their turn, expecting to reap the same advantages. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eye of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests, appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To over-run a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

XXXII. While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of victory, erected at Camalodunum, fell from

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its baſe, without any apparent cauſe, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddeſs yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in reſtleſs ecſtaſy ruſhed among the people, and with frantic ſcreams denounced impending ruin. In the council-chamber of the Romans *(a)* hideous clamours were heard in a foreign accent; ſavage howlings filled the theatre, and near the mouth of the Thames the image of a colony *(b)* in ruins was ſeen in the tranſparent water; the ſea was purpled with blood, and, at the tide of ebb, the figures of human bodies were traced on the ſand. By theſe appearances the Romans were ſunk in deſpair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the mean time, was detained in the iſle of Mona. In this alarming criſis, the veterans ſent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a reinforcement. Two hundred men, and thoſe not completely armed, were all that officer could ſpare. The colony had but a handful of ſoldiers. Their temple was ſtrongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a ſtand. But even for the defence of that place no meaſures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No foſſe was made; no paliſade thrown up; nor were the women, and ſuch as were diſabled by age or infirmity, ſent out of the garriſon. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by ſurpriſe, and, in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the Barbarians in one general aſſault. The colony was laid waſte with fire and ſword.

The temple held out, but, after a ſiege of two days, was taken by ſtorm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, fluſhed with ſucceſs, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis eſcaped with the cavalry to his entrenchments. Catus Decianus, the pro-

curator of the province, alarmed at the ſcene of carnage which he beheld on every ſide, and further dreading the indignation of a people, whom by rapine and oppreſſion he had driven to deſpair, betook himſelf to flight, and croſſed over into Gaul.

XXXIII. SUETONIUS, undiſmayed by this diſaſter, marched through the heart of the country as far as London *(a)*; a place not digniſied with the name of a colony, but the chief reſidence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce. At that place he meant to fix the ſeat of war; but reflecting on the ſcanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal raſhneſs of Cerealis, he reſolved to quit that ſtation, and, by giving up one poſt, ſecure the reſt of the province. Neither ſupplications, nor the tears of the inhabitants could induce him to change his plan. The ſignal for the march was given. All who choſe to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakneſs of their ſex, or the attractions of the ſituation, thought proper to remain behind, not one eſcaped the rage of the Barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium *(b)*, a municipal town, were in like manner put to the ſword. The genius of a ſavage people leads them always in queſt of plunder; and, accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of ſtrength. Wherever they expected feeble reſiſtance, and conſiderable booty, there they were ſure to attack with the fierceſt rage. Military ſkill was not the talent of Barbarians. The number maſſacred in the places which have been mentioned, amounted to no leſs than ſeventy thouſand, all citizens or allies of Rome. To make priſoners, and reſerve them for ſlavery, or to exchange them, was not in the idea of a people, who deſpiſed all the laws of war. The halter and the gibbet, ſlaughter and deſolation, fire and ſword, were the marks of ſavage valour. Aware that vengeance would overtake them, they

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were reſolved to make ſure of their revenge, and glut themſelves with the blood of their enemies.

XXXIV. The fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and the auxiliaries from the adjacent ſtations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little leſs than ten thouſand men. Thus reinforced, he reſolved, without loſs of time, to bring on a deciſive action. For this purpoſe he choſe a ſpot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and ſheltered in the rear by a thick foreſt. In that ſituation he had no fear of an ambuſcade. The enemy, he knew, had no approach but in front. An open plain lay before him. He drew up his men in the following order: the legions in cloſe array formed the centre; the light armed troops were ſtationed at hand to ſerve as occaſion might require: the cavalry took poſt in the wings. The Britons brought into the field an incredible multitude. They formed no regular line of battle. Detached parties and looſe battalions diſplayed their numbers, in frantic tranſport bounding with exultation, and ſo ſure of victory, that they placed their wives in waggons at the extremity of the plain, where they might ſurvey the ſcene of action, and behold the wonders of Britiſh valour.

XXXV. Boadicea *(a)*, in a warlike car, with her two daughters before her, drove through the ranks. She harangued the different nations in their turn: "This," ſhe ſaid, "is not "the firſt time that the Britons have been led to battle by a "woman. But now ſhe did not come to boaſt the pride of a "long line of anceſtry, nor even to recover her kingdom and "the plundered wealth of her family. She took the field, like "the meaneſt among them, to aſſert the cauſe of public liberty, "and to ſeek revenge for her body ſeamed with ignominious "ſtripes,

" ſtripes, and her two daughters infamouſly raviſhed. From the " pride and arrogance of the Romans nothing is ſacred; all are " ſubject to violation; the old endure the ſcourge, and the vir- " gins are deflowered. But the vindictive gods are now at " hand. A Roman legion dared to face the warlike Britons: " with their lives they paid for their raſhneſs; thoſe who ſur- " vived the carnage of that day, lie poorly hid behind their en- " trenchments, meditating nothing but how to ſave themſelves " by an ignominious flight. From the din of preparation, and " the ſhouts of the Britiſh army, the Romans, even now, ſhrink " back with terror. What will be their caſe when the aſſault " begins? Look round, and view your numbers. Behold the " proud diſplay of warlike ſpirits, and conſider the motives for " which we draw the avenging ſword. On this ſpot we muſt " either conquer, or die with glory. There is no alternative. " Though a woman, my reſolution is fixed: the men, if they " pleaſe, may ſurvive with infamy, and live in bondage."

XXXVI. SUETONIUS, in a moment of ſuch importance, did not remain ſilent. He expected every thing from the valour of his men, and yet urged every topic that could inſpire and animate them to the attack. " Deſpiſe," he ſaid, " the ſavage " uproar, the yells and ſhouts of undiſciplined Barbarians. In " that mixed multitude, the women out-number the men. Void " of ſpirit, unprovided with arms, they are not ſoldiers who come " to offer battle; they are daſtards, runaways, the refuſe of your " ſwords, who have often fled before you, and will again betake " themſelves to flight when they ſee the conqueror flaming in " the ranks of war. In all engagements it is the valour of a " few that turns the fortune of the day. It will be your im- " mortal glory, that with a ſcanty number you can equal the " exploits of a great and powerful army. Keep your ranks;

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" diſcharge your javelins; ruſh forward to a cloſe attack; bear " down all with your bucklers, and hew a paſſage with your " ſwords. Purſue the vanquiſhed, and never think of ſpoil " and plunder. Conquer, and victory gives you every thing." This ſpeech was received with warlike acclamations. The ſoldiers burned with impatience for the onſet, the veterans brandiſhed their javelins, and the ranks diſplayed ſuch an intrepid countenance, that Suetonius, anticipating the victory, gave the ſignal for the charge.

XXXVII. The engagement began. The Roman legion preſented a cloſe embodied line. The narrow defile gave them the ſhelter of a rampart. The Britons advanced with ferocity, and diſcharged their darts at random. In that inſtant, the Romans ruſhed forward in the form of a wedge. The auxiliaries followed with equal ardour. The cavalry, at the ſame time, bore down upon the enemy, and, with their pikes, overpowered all who dared to make a ſtand. The Britons betook themſelves to flight, but their waggons in the rear obſtructed their paſſage. A dreadful ſlaughter followed. Neither ſex nor age was ſpared. The cattle, falling in one promiſcuous carnage, added to the heaps of ſlain. The glory of the day was equal to the moſt ſplendid victory of ancient times. According to ſome writers, not leſs than eighty thouſand Britons were put to the ſword. The Romans loſt about four hundred men, and the wounded did not exceed that number. Boadicea, by a doſe of poiſon, put a period to her life. Pænius Poſthumus, præfect in the camp *(a)* of the ſecond legion, as ſoon as he heard of the brave exploits of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, felt the diſgrace of having, in diſobedience to the orders of his general, robbed the ſoldiers under his command of their ſhare in ſo complete

plete a victory. Stung with remorſe, he fell upon his ſword, and expired on the ſpot.

XXXVIII. SUETONIUS called in all his forces, and, having ordered them to pitch their tents, kept the field in readineſs for new emergencies, intending not to cloſe the campaign till he put an end to the war. By directions from the emperor a reinforcement of two thouſand legionary ſoldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts *(a)*, and a thouſand horſe, arrived from Germany. By this acceſſion of ſtrength the ninth legion was completed. The cohorts and cavalry were ſent into new quarters, and the country round, wherever the people had declared open hoſtility, or were ſuſpected of treachery, was laid waſte with fire and ſword. Famine was the evil that chiefly diſtreſſed the enemy: employed in warlike preparations, they had neglected the cultivation of their lands, depending altogether on the ſucceſs of their arms, and the booty which they hoped to ſeize from the Romans. Fierce and determined in the cauſe of liberty, they were rendered ſtill more obſtinate by the miſunderſtanding that ſubſiſted between the Roman generals. Julius Claſſicianus had ſucceeded to the poſt vacant by the ſudden flight of Catus Decianus. Being at variance with Suetonius, he did not ſcruple to ſacrifice the public good to private animoſity. He ſpread a report, that another commander in chief might be ſoon expected, and in him the Britons would find a man, who would bring with him neither ill will to the natives, nor the pride of victory. The vanquiſhed would, by conſequence, meet with moderation and humanity. Claſſicianus did not ſtop here: in his diſpatches to Rome, he preſſed the neceſſity of recalling Suetonius. The war would, otherwiſe, never be brought to a concluſion by an officer, who owed all his diſaſters to his own want of conduct, and his ſucceſs to the good fortune of the empire.

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XXXIX. In conſequence of theſe complaints, Polycletus, one of the emperor's freedmen, was ſent from Rome to inquire into the ſtate of Britain. The weight and authority of ſuch a meſſenger, Nero flattered himſelf, would produce a reconciliation between the hoſtile generals, and diſpoſe the Britons to a more pacific temper. Polycletus ſet out with a large retinue, and, on his journey through Italy and Gaul, made his grandeur a burthen to the people. On his arrival in Britain he overawed the Roman ſoldiers; but his magnificent airs and aſſumed importance met with nothing from the Britons but contempt and deriſion. Notwithſtanding the misfortunes of the natives, the flame of liberty was not extinguiſhed. The exorbitant power of a manumitted ſlave was a novelty which thoſe ferocious iſlanders could not digeſt. They ſaw an army that fought with valour, and a general who led them on to victory; but both were obliged to wait the nod of a wretched bondſman. In the report made by this man the ſtate of affairs was ſuch as gave no jealouſy to Nero. Suetonius, therefore, was continued in his government. It happened, in a ſhort time afterwards, that a few ſhips were wrecked on the coaſt, and all on board periſhed in the waves. This was conſidered as a calamity of war, and, on that account, Suetonius was recalled. Petronius Turpilianus, whoſe conſulſhip had juſt then expired, ſucceeded to the command. Under him a languid ſtate of tranquillity followed. The general ſaw the paſſive diſpoſition of the Britons, and not to provoke hoſtilities was the rule of his conduct. He remained inactive, content to decorate his want of enterpriſe with the name of peace.

XL. This year was remarkable for two atrocious crimes; one, the act of a ſenator, and the other perpetrated by the daring ſpirit of a ſlave. Domitius Balbus, of prætorian rank, was, at that time,

time, far advanced in years. His wealth, and his want of iſſue, made him obnoxious to the arts of ill-deſigning men. His relation, Valerius Fabianus, a man high in rank, and likely to obtain the firſt honours of the ſtate, forged his will. To give colour to the fraud, he drew into his plot Vincius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, two Roman knights, who choſe to act in concert with Antonius Primus *(a)* and Aſinius Marcellus. Antonius was a prompt and daring ſpirit, ready for any miſchief. Marcellus was grandſon to the renowned Aſinius Pollio: his character was, till that time, without a ſtain; but his favourite maxim was, that poverty *(b)* is the worſt of evils. In the preſence of thoſe conſpirators, and other witneſſes of inferior note, Fabianus ſealed the will. The fraud being brought to light before the ſenate, the author of it, with three of his accomplices, namely, Antonius, Rufinus, and Terentius, were condemned to ſuffer the penalties of the Cornelian law *(c)*. Marcellus found in the favour of the prince, and the dignity of his anceſtors, a powerful protection. He was ſaved from puniſhment, not from infamy.

XLI. The ſame day was fatal to two others of rank and diſtinction. Pompeius Ælianus, a young man who had already paſſed with honour through the office of quæſtor, was charged as an acceſſary in the guilt of Fabianus. He was baniſhed, not only from Italy, but from Spain, the place of his birth. Valerius Ponticus met with equal ſeverity. The crime alleged againſt him was, that, with a deſign to elude the juriſdiction of the præfect of Rome, he had accuſed ſeveral delinquents before the prætor; intending, in the firſt inſtance, under colour of a legal proceſs, and afterwards, by abandoning the proſecution, to defeat the ends of juſtice. The fathers added a clauſe to their decree, whereby all perſons concerned either in procuring or conducting

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for hire a colluſive action, were to be treated as public prevaricators *(a)*, and to ſuffer the pains and penalties inflicted by the law on ſuch as ſtood convicted of a falſe and calumnious accuſation.

XLII. THE ſecond daring crime that marked the year, as mentioned above, was the act of a ſlave. This man murdered his maſter, Pedanius Secundus, at that time præfect of the city. His motive for this deſperate act was either becauſe his liberty, after a bargain made *(a)*, was ſtill withheld, or being enamoured of a foreign pathic, he could not endure his maſter as his rival. Every ſlave in the family where the murder was committed, was by ancient uſage ſubject to capital puniſhment; but the populace, touched with compaſſion for ſo many innocent men, oppoſed the execution with rage and tumult little ſhort of a ſeditious inſurrection. In the ſenate many of the fathers embraced the popular ſide, but the majority declared for the rigour of the law without innovation. In the debate on this occaſion *(b)*, Caius Caſſius ſpoke to the following effect:

XLIII. "I HAVE been often preſent, conſcript fathers, when "motions have been made in this aſſembly for new decrees, "repugnant of the laws in being, and utterly ſubverſive of all "ancient eſtabliſhments. To thoſe meaſures I made no oppo- "ſition, though well convinced, that the regulations made by "our anceſtors were the beſt, the wiſeſt, the moſt conducive "to the public good. To change that ſyſtem is to change for "the worſe. This has ever been my ſettled opinion; but I "forbore to take a part in your debates, that I might not be "thought bigoted either to antiquity, or to my own way of "thinking. I had another reaſon for my conduct. The weight "and influence which I flattered myſelf I had acquired in this "aſſembly,

" aſſembly, might, by frequently troubling you, loſe its effect. " I determined, therefore, to reſerve myſelf for ſome important " conjuncture, when my feeble voice might be of uſe. That " conjuncture occurs this very day. A man of conſular rank, " without a friend to aſſiſt him, without any one perſon to op- " poſe the ruffian's blow, no notice given, no diſcovery made, " has been in his own houſe barbarouſly murdered. The law " which dooms every ſlave under the roof to execution, is ſtill " in force. Repeal that law, and, if you will, let this horrible " deed paſs with impunity; but when you have done it, which " of us can think himſelf ſafe? Who can depend on his rank " or dignity, when the firſt magiſtrate of your city dies under " the aſſaſſin's ſtroke? Who can hope to live in ſecurity amongſt " his ſlaves, when ſo large a number as four hundred could not " defend Pedanius Secundus? Will our domeſtics aſſiſt us in " the hour of need, when we ſee, in the inſtance before us, that " neither their own danger nor the terrors of the law could " induce them to protect their maſter? Will it be ſaid that the " murderer ſtruck his blow to revenge a perſonal injury? What " was the injury? The paternal eſtate of a ruffian, perhaps, was " in danger; or the foreign pathic, whom they were going to " raviſh from him, deſcended to him from his anceſtors. If " that be ſo, the deed was lawful, and, by conſequence, we, " conſcript fathers, ought to pronounce it juſtifiable homicide.

XLIV. " But let me aſk you; are we, at this time of day, " to ſupport by argument, what has been long ſettled by the " wiſdom of ages? Suppoſe the point in diſpute were a new " queſtion, to be now decided for the firſt time: can we ima- " gine that a ruffian, who had formed a black deſign to murder " his maſter, kept the whole ſo cloſely locked up in his breaſt, " that, in the agitations of a guilty mind, nothing eſcaped from

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" him? Not a menace, not ſo much as a raſh word to give the " alarm? Nothing, we are told, of this ſort happened; we are " to believe that the aſſaſſin brooded over his horrible purpoſe " in ſullen ſilence; that he prepared his dagger unſeen by every " eye, and that his fellow-ſlaves knew nothing of it. Be it ſo: " did he paſs unſeen through the train of attendants that guarded " the bed-chamber? Did he open the door unperceived by all? " Did he enter with a light, and ſtrike the mortal blow, without " the knowledge of any perſon whatever?

" Between the firſt deſign, and the final execution of evil deeds, " ſymptoms of guilt are often ſeen. If our ſlaves are faithful, " if they give timely intelligence, we may live ſecure in our " houſes; or if we muſt fall by the murderer's dagger, it is a " ſatisfaction to know, that juſtice will overtake the guilty. " The mind and temper of the ſlave, though born on the " maſter's eſtate, or even in his houſe, imbibing with his firſt " milk affection and gratitude to the family, were always ſuſ- " pected by our anceſtors. At preſent, we have in our ſervice " whole nations of ſlaves; the ſcum of mankind, collected from " all quarters of the globe; a race of men, who bring with them " foreign rites, and the religion of their country, or, probably, " no religion at all. In ſuch a conflux, if the laws are ſilent, " what protection remains for the maſter? But, it is ſaid, the " innocent may ſuffer with the guilty. To this I anſwer, when " an army, ſeized with a general panic, turns its back on the " enemy, and, to reſtore military diſcipline, the men are drawn " out and decimated; what diſtinction is then made between " the gallant ſoldier and the coward, who fled from his poſt? In " political juſtice there is often ſomething not ſtrictly right: " but partial evil is counterbalanced by the good of the " whole."

XLV. To

XLV. To this reaſoning no reply was made, and yet a murmur of diſapprobation ran through the aſſembly. The number doomed to ſuffer, their age, their ſex, and the undoubted innocence of the greateſt part, awakened ſentiments of compaſſion; but the majority was for letting the law *(a)* take its courſe. Their opinion prevailed. The popular cry was ſtill for mercy. The rabble roſe in a tumultuous body, and with ſtones and firebrands ſtopped the execution. To quell their fury, Nero iſſued a proclamation, and by his order the ſtreets were lined with ſoldiers under arms. The unhappy victims ſuffered death. Cingonius Varro moved, that even the freedmen, who were actually in the houſe at the time of the murder, ſhould, by a decree of the ſenate, be baniſhed out of Italy. To this Nero anſwered, that, ſince mercy was not allowed to mitigate the ſyſtem of ancient laws, to increaſe their rigour by new pains and penalties, would be an act of cruelty.

XLVI. During the ſame conſulſhip, Tarquitius Priſcus, at the ſuit of the people of Bithynia, was convicted of extortion, and condemned to make reſtitution. The ſenate remembered the violence of this man in the proſecution againſt Statilius Taurus *(a)*, his own proconſul in Africa, and now retaliated with a vindictive ſpirit. The people in both the Gauls were reviewed and rated by Quintus Voluſius, Sextius Africanus, and Trebellius Maximus. The two former, elate with family-pride, paſſed their time in mutual jealouſy, thwarting each other, and ſtruggling for pre-eminence. They looked down with contempt on Trebellius; but their petty animoſities ſerved only to degrade themſelves, and give to their colleague a decided ſuperiority.

XLVII. In the courſe of this year died Memmius Regulus, diſtinguiſhed by his virtues, and his unblemiſhed character.

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Admired for his conſtancy and unſhaken firmneſs, he roſe to as high a pitch of credit and authority, as can be attained under a government, where the grandeur of the prince throws a ſhade over the merit of every private citizen. As a proof of this, we have the following anecdote. Nero being confined with a fit of illneſs, the tribe of ſycophants, fluttering about his perſon, poured forth the anguiſh of their hearts, and, "if any thing happened "to the emperor, the day," they ſaid, "that put a period to his "life, would be the laſt of the empire." "No," replied the prince, "a pillar of the ſtate will ſtill remain." The courtiers ſtood at gaze, wondering who that perſon could be; Nero told them, "Memmius Regulus is the man." Strange as it may ſeem, Regulus ſurvived that opinion of his virtue. In his love of retirement he found a retreat from danger. A man, whoſe family had lately riſen to honours, gave no alarm; and his fortune raiſed no envy. It was in the ſame year that Nero dedicated a gymnaſium *(a)*, or public ſchool for athletic exerciſes, and, with the obliging facility of Greek manners, gave orders that the ſenators and Roman knights, without any expence on their part, ſhould be provided with oil, to prepare their limbs for that elegant exhibition.

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XLVIII. DURING the conſulſhip of Publius Marius and Lucius Aſinius, a proſecution was ſet on foot againſt Antiſtius, then inveſted with the office of prætor. The conduct of this man, when tribune of the people *(a)*, has been already mentioned. The charge againſt him was, that being the author of ſarcaſtic verſes againſt the emperor, he produced his poem to a large company at the table of Oſtorius Scapula. For this libel he was arraigned on the law of majeſty. The cauſe was conducted by Coſſutianus Capito *(b)*, who had been lately raiſed, by the intereſt of Tigellinus, his father-in-law, to the ſenatorian order. The

law of majeſty had fallen into diſuſe, and was now revived, for the firſt time in the reign of Nero, not, as was imagined, to make Antiſtius feel its ſeverity, but, in fact, to give the emperor an opportunity, after judgment of death was paſſed, to interpoſe his tribunitian *(c)* authority, and, by preventing the execution, add new luſtre to his name. Oſtorius Scapula was called as a witneſs. He remembered nothing of the verſes in queſtion. The evidence of others was believed, and, thereupon, Junius Marcellus, conſul elect, moved, that the criminal, diveſted in the firſt inſtance of his prætorſhip, ſhould ſuffer death according to the laws in force *(d)*, and the practice under former emperors. The reſt of the ſenate concurring in the ſame opinion, Pætus Thraſea roſe to oppoſe the motion. He began with honourable mention of the prince, nor did he take upon him to defend the conduct of Antiſtius. On the contrary, he blamed the licentious ſpirit of the man in terms of ſeverity; but under a virtuous emperor, and, in a ſenate left to act with independance, the queſtion, he ſaid, was not the magnitude of the crime, nor what puniſhment the rigour of the law would warrant. The executioner, the gibbet, and the halter were, for ſome time, unknown at Rome. Other pains and penalties were provided by law, and thoſe might be inflicted, without branding the judges with cruelty, and the age with infamy. Antiſtius may be condemned to baniſhment; his effects may be confiſcated. Let him paſs the remainder of his days in one of the iſlands. His life, in that ſituation, will be protracted miſery. He will there continue to languiſh in exile, a burthen to himſelf, yet a living monument of the equity and moderation of the times.

XLIX. The firmneſs with which Thraſea delivered his ſentiments inſpired the ſenate with the ſame ardour. The conſul put the queſtion, and the fathers divided *(a)*. The majority voted with Thraſea. The diſſentients were but a ſmall number.

Amongſt

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Amongſt them was Aulus Vitellius *(b)*, of all the flattering crew, the moſt corrupt and ſervile; fluent in invective; eager to attack the moſt eminent characters, and ever ſure, with the confuſion of a little mind, to ſhrink from the reply. He heard his adverſary with ſilent patience. The conſuls, however, did not preſume to cloſe the buſineſs by a decree in form: they choſe to make their report to the emperor, and wait his pleaſure. Nero, for ſome time, balanced between ſhame and reſentment. At length, his anſwer was, "That Antiſtius, without provocation, "or any cauſe of complaint, had diſtilled the venom of his pen "on the name and character of his ſovereign. The matter had "been referred to the ſenate, and juſtice required a puniſhment "adequate to the crime. Nevertheleſs, as it had been from the "firſt his reſolution to mitigate a rigorous ſentence, he would "not now controul the moderation of the fathers. They might "determine, as to their wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet. They were "even at liberty to acquit the criminal altogether." From this anſwer it was evident, that the conduct of the ſenate had given offence at court. The conſuls, however, were not inclined to alter their report. Thraſea maintained his former opinion, and all who had voted with him followed his example. Some were unwilling, by a change of ſentiment, to expoſe the prince to the popular odium; others thought themſelves ſafe in a large majority; and Thraſea, with his uſual elevation of mind, would not recede from the dignity of his character.

L. On a charge of the ſame complexion as the former, Fabricius Veiento *(a)* was involved in ſimilar danger. In certain writings, which he called the LAST WILLS of perſons deceaſed, he had inſerted ſtrokes of ſatire reflecting on ſeveral members of the ſenate, and others of the ſacerdotal order. Talius Geminus was the proſecutor. He added another allegation, charging, that the criminal

minal abuſed his credit at court, and diſpoſed of the favours of the prince, and the honours of the ſtate, by bargain and ſale, for his own private emolument. This laſt article rouſed the reſentment of Nero; he removed the cauſe to his own tribunal. Veiento was baniſhed out of Italy. His books were condemned to the flames, but eagerly ſought, and univerſally read. Men peruſed with avidity what was procured with danger. When no longer prohibited, the work ſunk into oblivion.

LI. MEANWHILE, the public grievances went on with increaſing violence, and the means of redreſs diminiſhed every day. Burrhus died at this time, whether in the courſe of nature, or by poiſon, cannot now be known. The general opinion aſcribed his death to a fit of illneſs. He was ſeized with a diſorder in the throat, and the inflammation in the glands ſwelling to a prodigious ſize, ſuffocation followed. There was, however, a current report, that, under a pretence of adminiſtering a proper gargle, poiſon was mixed in the medicine, by order of Nero, and that Burrhus, having diſcovered the villany, as ſoon as he perceived the prince entering his room, turned from him with averſion, and to all enquiries ſhortly anſwered, "I am well at preſent." He died univerſally lamented. His virtues were long remembered, and long regretted. Nor was the public grief alleviated by the two perſons, who ſucceeded to his employments, namely Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus *(a)*, the former a man of undoubted innocence, but the innocence that proceeds from want of ſpirit. Tigellinus ſtood diſtinguiſhed by a life of debauchery, and the infamy of his character. Rufus owed his advancement to the voice of the people, who were pleaſed with his upright management of the public ſtores. Tigellinus was a favourite of the emperor. The early vices of the man recommended him to notice. The command of the prætorian guards,

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which had been entrufted to Burrhus only, was granted to thofe two by a joint commiffion. The impreffion, which they had given of their characters, was confirmed by their conduct in office. Tigellinus gained an abfolute afcendant over the mind of a debauched and profligate emperor. In all fcenes of revelry he was a conftant companion. Rufus obtained the good-will of the foldiers and the people, but his merit ruined him with the prince.

LII. By the death of Burrhus, Seneca loft the chief fupport of his power. The friend of upright meafures was fnatched away, and virtue could no longer make head againft the corruption of a court, governed altogether by the vile and profligate. By that fet of men Seneca was undermined. They blackened his character, and loaded him with various imputations. "His wealth "was exorbitant, above the condition of a private citizen; and "yet his unappeafable avarice went on without intermiffion, "every day grafping at more. His rage for popularity was no "lefs violent. He courted the affections of the people, and by "the grandeur of his villas, and the beauty of his gardens, hoped "to vie with imperial fplendour. In matters of tafte and genius "he allows no rival. He claims the whole province of eloquence "as his own; and fince Nero fhewed his tafte for poetry, from "that moment Seneca began to court the mufe *(a)*, and he too "has his copy of verfes.

"To the other diverfions of the prince he is an avowed, an "open enemy. The fkill of the charioteer provokes his raillery; "he fneers at the management of horfes; and the melody of the "prince's voice is a fubject for his wit and ridicule. In all this "what is his drift? Why truly, that, in the whole extent of the "empire, there fhould be nothing worthy of praife but what "flows from his fuperior talents. But Nero is no longer the pu-

"pil

" pil of this ſubtle philoſopher; he has attained the prime ſeaſon " of manhood, and may now diſcard his tutor. He has before " his eyes the brighteſt model for his conduct, the example of " his own illuſtrious anceſtors."

LIII. THESE inſidious arts were not unknown to Seneca. There were ſtill at court a few in the intereſts of virtue, and from ſuch men he received intelligence of all that paſſed. Finding that the prince had withdrawn his friendſhip, and no longer admitted him to his converſation, he demanded an audience, and ſpoke to the following effect: " It is now, Cæſar, the fourteenth year, ſince " I was placed near your perſon; of your reign it is the eighth. " In that ſpace of time you have laviſhed upon me both wealth " and honours, with ſo liberal an hand, that to complete my " happineſs nothing now is neceſſary but moderation and con- " tentment. In the humble requeſt, which I preſume to make, " I ſhall take the liberty to cite a few examples, far, indeed, above " my condition, but worthy of you. Auguſtus, your illuſtrious " anceſtor, permitted Marcus Agrippa to retire to Mitylene *(a)*; " he allowed Mæcenas to live almoſt a ſtranger in Rome, and in " the heart of the city *(b)* to dwell as it were in ſolitude. The " former of thoſe illuſtrious men had been the companion of his " wars; the latter ſupported the weight of his adminiſtration: " both, it is true, received ample rewards, but rewards fairly " earned by great and eminent ſervices. For myſelf, if you ex- " cept ſome attainments in literature, the fruit of ſtudies purſued " in the ſhade of retirement, what merit can I aſſume? My feeble " talents are ſuppoſed to have ſeaſoned your mind with the firſt " tincture of letters, and that honour is beyond all recompenſe.

" But your liberality knows no bounds. You have loaded me " with favours, and with riches. When I reflect on your gene-

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" rosity, I say to myself, Shall a man of my level, without family
" pretensions, the son of a simple knight, born in a distant pro-
" vince *(c)*, presume to rank with the grandees of Rome? My
" name, the name of a new man, figures among those who boast
" a long and splendid line of ancestors. Where is now the mind,
" which long since knew, that to be content with little is true happi-
" ness? The philosopher is employed in laying out gardens *(d)*,
" and improving pleasure-grounds. He delights in the extent of
" ample villas; he enjoys a large rent-roll, and has sums of
" money *(e)* laid out at interest. I have but one apology; your
" munificence was a command, and it was not for me to
" resist.

LIV. " But the measure of generosity on your part, and sub-
" mission on mine, is now complete. What a prince could give, you
" have bestowed: what a friend could take, I have received. More
" will only serve to irritate envy, and inflame the malice of my
" enemies. You indeed tower above the passions of ill designing
" men; I am open to their attacks; I stand in need of protection.
" In a campaign, or on a march, if I found myself fatigued and
" worn out with toil, I should not hesitate to sue for some indul-
" gence. Life is a state of warfare; it is a long campaign, in
" which a man in years, sinking under a load of cares, and even
" by his riches made obnoxious, may crave leave to retire. I am
" willing to resign my wealth: let the auditors of the imperial
" revenue take the account, and let the whole return to its foun-
" tain-head. By this act of self-denial I shall not be reduced to
" poverty; I shall part with that superfluity which glitters in
" the eyes of my enemies; and for the rest, the time, which is
" spent in the improving of gardens, and the embellishing of
" villas, I shall transfer to myself, and for the future lay it out in
" the cultivation of my mind. You are in the vigour of your
" days;

" days; a long train of years lies before you. In full poſſeſſion of " the ſovereign power you have learned the art of reigning. Old " age may be permitted to ſeek repoſe. It will, hereafter, be " your glory, that you knew how to chooſe men of moderation, " who could deſcend from the ſummit of fortune, to dwell with " peace and humble content in the vale of life."

LV. NERO replied as follows: " If I give an immediate anſwer " to a ſpeech of prepared eloquence, the power of doing it I derive " from you. The faculty of ſpeaking, not only when the matter " has been premeditated, but alſo on ſudden occaſions, I poſſeſs " (if I do poſſeſs it) by your care and inſtruction. Auguſtus, it " is true, releaſed Agrippa and Mæcenas from the fatigue of buſi- " neſs; but he did it, at a time, when his authority was eſtabliſhed " on the firmeſt baſis, and his own experience was equal to the " cares of government. He did not, however, reſume the grants " which he had made. What thoſe eminent citizens obtained, " they deſerved in war and civil commotions; for in thoſe buſy " ſcenes Auguſtus paſſed his youth. Had my lot been the ſame, " your ſword would not have been idle. What the conjuncture " demanded, you ſupplied; you formed my mind to ſcience, and " you aſſiſted me with your wiſdom and advice. The advan- " tages which I derive from you are not of a periſhable nature; " they will cleave to me through life. As to the favours which " it was in my power to grant, ſuch as houſes, gardens, and ſums " of money, they are precarious gifts, ſubject to accidents and " the caprice of fortune. Preſents of that kind may ſeem magni- " ficent; but they fall ſhort of what I have beſtowed on others, " who had neither your accompliſhments, nor your merit. I " could mention freedmen, who flouriſh in higher ſplendour; " but I bluſh to name them. I bluſh, that you, who are the firſt

" in

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" in my eſteem, ſhould not, at the ſame time, be the firſt man " in my dominions.

LVI. " I GRANT that you are advanced in years, but the vi- " gour of your conſtitution is ſtill unbroken. You are equal to " buſineſs, and the fruit of your labours you can ſtill enjoy. My " reign is but juſt begun; and what has been my liberality? Vi- " tellius was three times conſul *(a)*, and Claudius was his friend: " are you to be deemed inferior to the former? and muſt I, in " point of munificence, yield to the latter? Voluſius *(b)*, by a " long life of parſimony, raiſed an immoderate fortune; and ſhall " not my generoſity put you on a level with a man of that de- " ſcription? The impetuoſity of youth may hurry me beyond the " bounds of prudence: it will then be yours to recal my wander- " ing ſteps, and lead me to the paths of honour. You helped to " form my youthful underſtanding, and to what you poliſhed " you ſtill can give life and energy. If you reſign your wealth, " can you ſuppoſe that your moderation will be deemed the " cauſe? If you deſert your prince, will your love of quiet be " thought the motive? Far otherwiſe: my avarice will be ar- " raigned; my cruelty will be the general topic. The praiſe, " indeed, of wiſdom may purſue you in your retreat; but will it " be generous to build your fame on the diſgrace and ruin of " your friend?"

To this flattering ſpeech Nero added fond embraces, and all the external marks of affection. Inclined by nature to diſguiſe his ſentiments, and by habit exerciſed in the arts of diſſimulation, he knew how to hide under the ſurface of friendſhip the ſecret malice of his heart. Seneca anſwered in a ſubmiſſive tone. He returned his beſt thanks, the uſual cloſe of every conference in the

the cabinet of the prince. He reſolved, however, to change his mode of living: he reſigned his power, and retained no appearance of his former ſplendour; the crowd of viſitors no longer frequented his houſe; he diſmiſſed his train of followers, and but rarely appeared abroad, willing to be conſidered as an infirm old man, obliged to take care of his health at home, or a philoſopher, abſorbed in abſtract ſpeculations.

LVII. SENECA's influence was now in its wane. To ruin the credit of Fenius Rufus was the next object. In this his enemies found no difficulty. The crime of being attached to Agrippina was ſufficient. Tigellinus, in the mean time, roſe to the higheſt pitch of credit and influence at court. Poſſeſſing a genius for every miſchief, and having no other talents, he reſolved to draw the prince into a confederacy in guilt. Congenial vices, he had no doubt, would render him ſtill more dear to his maſter. With this view he began to watch the paſſions of Nero, and to explore the ſecrets of his heart. He found that the two perſons whom the emperor dreaded moſt were Plautus *(a)* and Sylla; both lately removed out of Italy; the former into Aſia, and the latter to Narbon Gaul. Tigellinus began his ſecret hoſtilities againſt them both. He talked of their rank and high deſcent. Plautus, he obſerved, was not far diſtant from the armies in the eaſt; and Sylla was near the legions in Germany. For himſelf, he had not, like Burrhus, the art of managing parties for his own private advantage. The welfare of his ſovereign was his only object. At Rome, he could enſure the ſafety of the prince. If plots were formed, by vigilance and activity they might be cruſhed in the bud. But for diſtant provinces who could anſwer? The name of Sylla, rendered famous by the celebrated dictator of that name, would rouſe and animate the people of Gaul. In Aſia the grandſon of Druſus *(b)* would have

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have a number of adherents, and might, by conſequence, excite the nations to a revolt. Sylla, indeed, was indigent and diſtreſſed: but his very poverty would be a ſource of courage, a motive for vigorous enterpriſe; and though he ſeemed to languiſh in repoſe and indolence, his love of eaſe was a cloak to cover his ambition. He waited for an opportunity to avow his dark deſigns.

Plautus, on the other hand, poſſeſſed immoderate wealth. To lead a ſluggiſh life was not in his temper or his character: he did not even affect it. He copied, with emulation, the manners of the ancient Romans, and to his auſterity added the maxims of the ſtoic ſect: a ſect at all times fond of public commotions, proud, fierce, and turbulent. By this reaſoning Nero was convinced. No delay intervened. Aſſaſſins were diſpatched. On the ſixth day they landed at Marſeilles, where, without notice, or ſo much as a hint to alarm him, Sylla was taken by ſurpriſe at his own table, and inſtantly murdered. His head was conveyed to Rome. Nero amuſed himſelf with the ſight; he ſaw that the hairs were grown grey before their time, and in that circumſtance found a ſubject for mirth and brutal raillery.

LVIII. The murder of Plautus could not be executed with equal ſecrecy. His friends were numerous, and his life was valuable to many. The place lay remote; a voyage was to be performed, and, in the mean time, the plot began to tranſpire. A report prevailed at Rome, that Plautus had put himſelf under the protection of Corbulo, who was then at the head of powerful armies; a man, in that evil period, when merit and innocence were capital crimes, likely to fall a devoted victim. The rumour further added, that in favour of Plautus all Aſia was up in arms, and that the ruffians ſent from Rome had either failed

failed in their reſolution, or, not finding themſelves in force, had gone over to the oppoſite party. The whole ſtory was without foundation; but, according to cuſtom, credulity ſwallowed it, and idle men added from their own invention. Plautus, in the mean time, received intelligence of the deſign againſt his life by one of his freedmen, who, having the advantage of a fair wind, got the ſtart of the centurions diſpatched by Nero. This faithful ſervant was ſent by Lucius Antiſtius, his maſter's father-in-law, with advice, that no time was to be loſt. In ſuch a criſis, ſloth would ill become a man whoſe life was in danger. To fall a tame and paſſive victim were to die an ignominious death. He had but to exert his moſt ſtrenuous efforts, and good men, touched with compaſſion, would eſpouſe his cauſe. The bold and turbulent would be ſure to join him. Nothing ſhould be left untried. It was only neceſſary to defeat ſixty men (for that was the number employed in this bloody tragedy): before Nero could receive intelligence, and diſpatch another band of ruffians, there would be time to concert bold and vigorous meaſures. The flame of war might be kindled all over Aſia, and, by this reſolute conduct, he might ſave his life. At the worſt, by daring bravely, his caſe would not be more deſperate. Courage might ſuffer, but it could not ſuffer more than cowardice.

LIX. This ſpirited advice had no effect on Plautus. Baniſhed from his country, without arms, or any means of defence, he ſaw no gleam of hope, and was, therefore, unwilling to be the dupe of viſionary ſchemes. Perhaps his affection for his wife and children ſoftened and diſarmed his mind. The emperor, if not exaſperated by reſiſtance, he imagined, would act with lenity towards his unhappy family. According to ſome hiſtorians, the advice ſent by Antiſtius was of a different tendency, importing that there was no danger to alarm him. We are

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further told, that, by the exhortations of two philoſophers, by name Cæranus *(a)*, a Greek by birth, and Muſonius, of Tuſcan origin, he had been taught that, though life is a ſeries of toil, and danger, and calamity, to wait with patience till the ſtroke of death delivered him from a ſcene of miſery, would be heroic fortitude. Thus much is certain, he was ſurpriſed by the aſſaſſins in the middle of the day, diſarmed and naked, attending to the refreſhment and exerciſe of his body.

In that condition a centurion diſpatched him, while Pelagon, one of the eunuchs, ſtood a ſpectator of the tragic ſcene. This wretch was ſent by Nero to ſuperintend the ruffians, like the miniſter of a deſpotic prince, placed over the guards and tools of iniquity to ſee his maſter's orders ſtrictly executed. The head of the deceaſed was carried to Rome. At the ſight of the diſmal object the emperor cried out (I give his very words), "Nero, now you may ſafely marry Poppæa. What obſtacle "remains to defer a match, long intended, and often deferred on "account of this very Plautus, and men of his deſcription? "Octavia may be divorced without delay: her conduct, it is "true, has been blameleſs, but the imperial name of her fa-"ther *(b)*, and the eſteem of the people, have made her in my "eyes an object of terror and deteſtation." Having thus fortified his mind, he diſpatched a letter to the ſenate, written in guarded terms, without ſo much as glancing at the murder of Sylla and Plautus. He mentioned them both, charging them with ſeditious machinations, by which he himſelf was kept in a conſtant alarm, leſt ſome dreadful convulſion ſhould, by their means, ſhake the empire to its foundation. The fathers decreed public vows and ſupplications to the gods. Sylla and Plautus, though no longer in being, were expelled the ſenate; and with this mockery,

mockery, to every good mind more grievous than the worſt oppreſſion, the people were amuſed and inſulted.

LX. NERO finding, by the ſlaviſh tenor of the decree, that the fathers were willing to transform his vices into virtues, reſolved to balance no longer. He repudiated Octavia, alleging her ſterility for his reaſon, and immediately married Poppæa. This woman, ſome time the concubine of the emperor, and now his wife, continued to govern him with unbounded ſway. Not content with her new dignity, ſhe ſuborned a domeſtic ſervant of Octavia to charge his miſtreſs with a diſhonourable intrigue with one of her ſlaves. For this purpoſe they choſe for the pretended adulterer a man of the name of Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, remarkable for his ſkill on the flute. The female ſervants were put to the torture. Some of them, overcome by pain and agony, confeſſed whatever was demanded of them; but the greateſt part perſevered, with conſtancy, to vindicate the honour of their miſtreſs. Tigellinus ſtood near at hand, preſſing them with queſtions. One of them had the ſpirit to anſwer, "The perſon of Octavia is freer from pollution than your "mouth." Sentence was pronounced againſt Octavia. With no more ceremony than what is uſual among citizens of ordinary rank, ſhe was diſmiſſed from the palace. The houſe of Burrhus, and the eſtates of Plautus, two fatal preſents! were allotted for her ſeparate uſe. She was ſoon after baniſhed to Campania, under a military guard. Murmurs of diſcontent were heard in every quarter of Rome. The common people ſpoke out without reſerve. To rules of caution and political wiſdom their rough manners made them ſtrangers, and the meanneſs of their condition left them nothing to fear. Their clamours were ſo loud and violent, that Nero gave orders to recall Octavia, but without affection, and without remorſe.

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LXI. The populace, tranſported with joy by this event, preſſed in crowds to the capitol, to offer up their thanks to the gods. The ſtatues of Poppæa were daſhed to the ground, while thoſe of Octavia, adorned with wreaths of flowers, were carried in triumph on men's ſhoulders, and placed in the forum and in the temples. The multitude went in a tumultuous body to greet the emperor; they ſurrounded his palace; they deſired him to come forth and receive their congratulations. A band of ſoldiers ruſhed forth ſword in hand, and obliged the crowd to diſperſe. Whatever was pulled down during the riot, was reſtored to its place, and the ſtatues of Poppæa were once more erected. But her malice to Octavia was not to be appeaſed. To inveterate hatred ſhe added her dread of a popular inſurrection, in conſequence of which, Nero might be compelled to renounce his paſſion for her perſon.

She threw herſelf at his feet: "I am not now," ſhe ſaid, "in a ſituation to contend for our nuptial union, though dearer "to me than life itſelf. But my life is in danger. The ſlaves "and followers of Octavia, calling their own clamour the voice "of the people, have committed, in a time of profound peace, "public outrages little ſhort of open rebellion. They are in "arms againſt their ſovereign. They want nothing but a leader, "and, in civil commotions, that want is ſoon ſupplied. What "has Octavia now to do, but to leave her retreat in Campania, "and ſhew herſelf to the people of Rome? She, who in her "abſence can raiſe a tumult ſo fierce and violent, will ſoon diſ-"cover the extent of her power. But what is my crime? What "have I committed? Whom have I offended? The people "may ſee me the mother of legitimate heirs to the houſe of "Cæſar; but, perhaps, they would fain reſerve the imperial "dignity for the iſſue of an Ægyptian minſtrel *(a)*. Submit to

"Octavia,

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" Octavia, ſince your intereſt will have it ſo: recall her to your " embrace, but do it voluntarily, that the rabble may not give " the law to their ſovereign. You muſt either adopt that mea- " ſure, or, by juſt vengeance on the guilty, provide for your " own ſafety and the public peace. The firſt alarm was eaſily " quelled; a ſecond inſurrection may prove fatal. Should the " mob have reaſon to deſpair of ſeeing Octavia the partner of " Nero's bed, they may, in their wiſdom, find for her another " huſband."

LXII. This artful ſpeech, tending at once to inflame the prince with reſentment, and alarm his fears, had its effect. Nero heard the whole with mixed emotions of rage and terror. That Octavia was guilty with one of her ſlaves, was a device of which men could be no longer made the dupes. The firmneſs of her ſervants on the rack removed even the ſhadow of ſuſpicion. A new ſtratagem was now to be tried. A man was to be found who would dare to confeſs the guilt; and if the ſame perſon could, with ſome colour of probability, be charged with a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, the plot would lie the deeper. For this dark deſign, no one ſo fit as Anicetus *(a)*, the commander of the fleet at Miſenum, and the murderer of the prince's mother. This officer, for ſome time after that atrocious deed, enjoyed the ſmiles of the emperor, but ſoon experienced the common fate of all pernicious miſcreants: he was favoured at firſt, and deteſted afterwards. It is the nature of great men, when their turn is ſerved, to conſider their tools as a living reproach, and ſtanding witneſſes againſt themſelves. Nero ſummoned Anicetus to his preſence: he thanked him for ſervices already performed. " By you," he ſaid, " I was delivered from the " ſnares of an ambitious mother. A deed of greater moment " ſtill remains. Set me free from the furious ſpirit of an im-

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" perious wife. To effect this you need not ſo much as raiſe " your hand. Neither ſword nor dagger will be wanted. Con- " feſs yourſelf guilty of adultery with Octavia; I aſk no more." He concluded with a promiſe of ample rewards, to be managed, indeed, with ſecrecy, but without bound or meaſure, and, in the end, a ſafe retreat in ſome delightful country. " And now," he ſaid, " accept the offers which I have made, or certain death " awaits you."

Anicetus undertook the buſineſs. Practiſed in guilt, and by the ſucceſs of his former crimes inſpired with courage, he went even beyond his commiſſion. In the preſence of certain choſen perſons, whom Nero ſummoned to a ſecret council, he told his ſtory with circumſtances that ſhewed he had no need of a prompter. He was baniſhed to the iſland of Sardinia. At that place he continued to live in affluence, and died, at laſt, in the courſe of nature.

LXIII. Nero iſſued a proclamation, declaring the guilt of Octavia, and, in expreſs terms, averring, that, to obtain the command of the fleet at Miſenum, ſhe had proſtituted her perſon to Anicetus. He added, that, by the uſe of medicines to procure abortion, ſhe had thrown a veil over her adulterous commerce. In this public declaration, the objection on account of ſterility, ſo lately urged, was no more remembered. The facts, however, were ſaid to be clearly proved. She was baniſhed to the iſle of Pandataria *(a)*. The public mind was never ſo deeply touched with compaſſion. The baniſhment of Agrippina, by order of Tiberius, was remembered by many; and that of Julia *(b)*, in the reign of Claudius, was ſtill more freſh in the memory of all: but thoſe two unfortunate exiles had attained the vigour of their days, and were, by conſequence, better enabled to endure the ſtroke

ſtroke of adverſity. They had known ſcenes of happineſs, and, in the recollection of better times, could loſe, or, at leaſt, aſſuage the ſenſe of preſent evils. To Octavia the celebration of her nuptials was little different from a funeral ceremony. She was led to an houſe, where ſhe could diſcover nothing but memorials of affliction; her father carried off by poiſon *(c)*, and her brother, in a ſhort time afterwards, deſtroyed by the ſame deteſtable machination. She ſaw herſelf ſuperſeded by the allurements of a female ſlave; ſhe ſaw the affections of her huſband alienated from herſelf, and a marriage, by which her ruin was completed, openly celebrated with Poppæa. Above all, ſhe underwent a cruel accuſation, to an ingenuous mind worſe than death. At the time when the ſtorm burſt upon her, ſhe was only in the twentieth year of her age, and even then, in the bloom of life, delivered to the cuſtody of centurions and ſoldiers. Her preſent afflictions, ſhe plainly ſaw, were a prelude to her impending fate. She was cut off from all the comforts of life; but the tranquillity of the grave was ſtill denied to her.

LXIV. In a few days afterwards ſhe received a mandate, commanding her to end her days. Alarmed and terrified, ſhe deſcended to ſupplications; ſhe admitted herſelf to be a widow; ſhe claimed no higher title than that of the emperor's ſiſter *(a)*; ſhe invoked the race of Germanicus, the common anceſtors of Nero and herſelf, and, in the anguiſh of her heart, regretted even Agrippina, during whoſe life, ſhe ſaid, her marriage would have been a ſtate of wretchedneſs, but would not have brought her to an untimely end. Amidſt theſe effuſions of ſorrow, the ruffians ſeized her, and, having bound her limbs, opened her veins. Her blood was chilled with fear, and did not iſſue at the wound. The aſſaſſins carried her to a bath of intenſe heat, where ſhe was ſuffocated by the vapour. To complete the horror of this barbarous

tragedy,

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tragedy, her head was cut off, and ſent to Rome, to glut the eyes of Poppæa.

Such were the tranſactions, for which the fathers decreed oblations to the gods. I mention the fact in this place, that the reader of this, or any other hiſtory of thoſe diſaſtrous times, may know, once for all, that as often as baniſhment, or a bloody execution was ordered, the ſenate never failed to thank the gods for their bounty. Thoſe ſolemn acts, which, in the earlier periods of Rome, were the pious gratitude of the people for increaſing happineſs, were now profanely and abominably converted to memorials of horror and public miſery. This may be received as a general truth; and yet, whenever a decree occurs, remarkable either for a new ſtrain of adulation, or the baſe ſervility of the times, it is my intention not to paſs it by in ſilence.

LXV. In the courſe of this year, Nero is ſaid to have deſtroyed by poiſon the moſt conſiderable of his freedmen. Among theſe, Doryphorus had oppoſed the marriage with Poppæa, and for that crime loſt his life. Pallas was in poſſeſſion of exorbitant wealth; but, living to a great age, he delayed the eager avarice of the emperor. He was murdered for his riches *(a)*. Romanus, another of the freedmen, endeavoured, by clandeſtine calumny, to accompliſh the ruin of Seneca. He charged the philoſopher with being an accomplice in the machinations of Caius Piſo; but the blow, warded off by Seneca, recoiled upon the accuſer. By this incident Piſo was alarmed for his own ſafety *(b)*. A dark conſpiracy followed, big with danger to Nero, but abortive in the end.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XV.

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lace. The chriſtians accuſed of being the incendiaries, and, though innocent, put to death with cruel barbarity. XLVII. *A variety of extraordinary omens.* XLVIII. *A conſpiracy againſt Nero in favour of Caius Piſo. A number of Roman knights and ſenators engaged in the plot. The firſt mover of it unknown. Subrius Flavius a forward leader. Epicharis, an enfranchiſed ſlave, endeavours to animate the conſpirators. By her imprudence, and the information of Milichus, a freedman, the conſpiracy is detected.* LVI. *The conſpirators betray their accomplices. Lucan the poet accuſes his mother.* LVII. *The fortitude of Epicharis on the rack. Fenius Rufus, though engaged in the plot, acts with vehemence againſt the reſt of the accomplices. Several illuſtrious men put to death.* LX. *Seneca accuſed, and a tribune ſent to him with the particulars of the information. His anſwer. He receives orders to die. His wife, Pompeia Paulina, ſaved by order of Nero. Seneca dies in the bath.* LXVI. *Fenius Rufus accuſed by the reſt of the conſpirators* LXVII. *The firm behaviour of Subrius Flavius, his intrepid anſwer to Nero, and his death.* LXVIII. *Veſtinus, the conſul, though innocent, commanded by a tribune to open his veins.* LXX. *Lucan the poet dies, repeating his own verſes.* LXXII. *Nero diſtributes a largeſs among the ſoldiers. The ſenate convened. Their baſe and ſervile flattery. Oblations decreed to the gods. The month of April ſtyled by the name Nero.*

Theſe tranſactions paſſed in little more than three years.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls
815	62, *continued.*	*Marius Celſus, Aſinius Gallus.*
816	63	*Memmius Regulus, Verginius Rufus.*
817	64	*C. Læcanius Baſſus, M. Licinius Craſſus.*
818	65	*Licinius Nerva Silianus, M. Veſtinus Atticus.*

THE

ANNALS

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TACITUS.

BOOK XV.

I. DURING theſe tranſactions, Vologeſes, king of the Parthians, began to raiſe new commotions in the Eaſt. The ſucceſs of Corbulo alarmed his jealouſy; he ſaw, with wounded pride, the defeat of his brother, Tiridates; and, in his room, Tigranes, an alien prince *(a)*, ſeated on the throne of Armenia. The honour of the Arſacides was tarniſhed by theſe events, and he was determined to reſtore its former luſtre. But the ſtruggle was to be with a great and powerful empire. Treaties of alliance, long in force and long reſpected by the two nations, held him in ſuſpenſe. By nature anxious and irreſolute, he formed no ſettled plan. He was at variance with the Hyrcanians, and, after a long and obſtinate conflict, that brave and powerful nation ſtill

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ſtill made head againſt him. While he continued wavering, freſh intelligence fired him with indignation. Tigranes marched his army into the territory of the Adiabenians, a people bordering on Armenia, and laid waſte their country. The enterpriſe did not reſemble the ſudden incurſion of Barbarians roving in queſt of prey: a regular war ſeemed to be declared in form. The chiefs of the Adiabenians ſaw, with reſentment, their lands made a ſcene of deſolation, not by a Roman army, but by a foreigner, a deſpicable hoſtage, who for years had lived at Rome undiſtinguiſhed from the common ſlaves.

Monobazus, the ſovereign of the province, inflamed the diſcontents of the people, and, at the ſame time, rouſed the pride of Vologeſes by frequent meſſages, importing, that he knew not which way to turn, nor from what quarter to expect relief. Armenia, he ſaid, was loſt, and the neighbouring ſtates, if not reinforced by the Parthians, muſt be all involved in the ſame calamity, perhaps, with the conſent of the people, as Rome, it was well known, made a diſtinction between the nations that fell by conqueſt, and thoſe that ſubmitted at diſcretion. Tiridates, by his behaviour, added force to theſe complaints. Driven from his throne, he appeared with all the ſilent dignity of diſtreſs, or, if he ſpoke occaſionally, his words were few, ſhort, and ſententious. "Mighty kingdoms," he ſaid, "are not ſupported by in-"activity. Men and arms, and warlike preparations are ne-"ceſſary. The conqueror has always juſtice on his ſide. In a "private ſtation, to defend their property is the virtue of indivi-"duals; but to invade the poſſeſſions of others is the preroga-"tive and the glory of kings."

II. ROUSED by theſe incentives, Vologeſes ſummoned a council, and, ſeating Tiridates next himſelf, ſpoke in ſubſtance as follows:

"You ſee before you a prince deſcended from the ſame father "with myſelf. Acknowledging the right of primogeniture, he "ceded to me the diadem of Parthia: in return I placed him on "the throne of Armenia, the third kingdom among the eaſtern "nations. Media, in fact, is the ſecond, and Pacorus, at that "time, was in poſſeſſion. By this arrangement, I provided for "my family, and, by the meaſure, extinguiſhed for ever thoſe "unnatural jealouſies, which formerly envenomed brothers againſt "brothers. This ſyſtem, it ſeems, has given umbrage to the "Romans; they declare againſt it; and though they never "broke with Parthia without paying dearly for their temerity, "they now are willing to provoke a war, and ruſh on their "own deſtruction. Thus much I am willing to declare; the "poſſeſſions, which have deſcended to me from my anceſtors, "ſhall never be diſmembered; but I had rather maintain them "by the juſtice of my cauſe, than by the deciſion of the ſword. "I avow the principle, and if, in conſequence of it, I have been "too much inclined to pacific meaſures, the vigour of my future "conduct ſhall make atonement. The national honour, in the "mean time, has ſuffered no diminution. Your glory is unim-"paired, and I have added to it the virtues of moderation; "virtues, which the gods approve, and which no ſovereign, how-"ever great and flouriſhing, ought to deſpiſe."

Having thus delivered his ſentiments, he placed the regal diadem on the head of Tiridates, and, at the ſame time, gave to Moneſes, an officer of diſtinguiſhed rank, the command of the cavalry, which, by eſtabliſhed uſage, is always appointed to attend the perſon of the monarch. He added the auxiliaries ſent by the Adiabenians, and, with that force, ordered him to march againſt Tigranes, in order to exterminate the uſurper from the throne of Armenia. In the mean time, he propoſed to com-

promiſe

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promiſe the war with the Hyrcanians, and fall with the whole weight of his kingdom on the Roman provinces.

III. CORBULO was no ſooner appriſed of theſe tranſactions, than he diſpatched, to ſupport Tigranes, two legions, under the command of Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus. In their private inſtructions thoſe officers had it in command, to proceed with caution, and act on the defenſive, without puſhing on their operations with too much vigour. A deciſive campaign was not Corbulo's plan. He wiſhed to protract the war, and, in the mean time, ſtated, in his letters to the emperor, the neceſſity of appointing a commander, with a ſpecial commiſſion to protect Armenia, as he foreſaw a ſtorm gathering in the province of Syria. If Vologeſes made an irruption in that quarter, a powerful army would be wanted to repel the invader. With the reſt of his legions he formed a chain of poſts along the banks of the Euphrates, and, having made a powerful levy of provincial forces, he ſecured all the paſſes againſt the inroads of the enemy. In order to make ſure of water in a country not well ſupplied by nature, he erected ſtrong caſtles near the ſprings and fountains; and, where the ſtations were inconvenient, he choaked up a number of rivulets with heaps of ſand, with intent to conceal their ſource from the Parthian army.

IV. WHILE Corbulo was thus concerting meaſures for the defence of Syria, Moneſes advanced by rapid marches, and with all his forces entered Armenia. He hoped to outſtrip the fame that flies before an enterpriſing general, and to fall upon Tigranes by ſurpriſe. That prince, aware of the deſign, had thrown himſelf into the city of Tigranocerta, a place ſurrounded by high walls *(a)*, and defended by a numerous garriſon. The river Nicephorius *(b)*, with a current ſufficiently

ficiently broad, waſhes a conſiderable part of the walls. A deep trench incloſed the reſt. There was a competent number of ſoldiers to man the works, and proviſions had been laid in with due precaution. Some of the foraging parties having raſhly ventured too far were ſurrounded by the enemy. This check, however, inſtead of diſheartening the garriſon, ſerved only to inſpire them with a ſpirit of revenge. The operations of a ſiege are ill ſuited to the genius of the Parthians, whoſe courage always fails in a cloſe engagement. A few arrows thrown at random made no impreſſion on men ſheltered by their fortifications. The beſiegers could only amuſe themſelves with a feeble attack. An attempt was made by the Adiabenians to carry the works by aſſault. They advanced their ſcaling ladders and other military engines, but were ſoon repulſed, and, the garriſon ſallying out, the whole corps was cut to pieces.

V. CORBULO was not of a temper to be elated with ſucceſs. He choſe to act with moderation in proſperity, and, accordingly, diſpatched an embaſſy to expoſtulate with Vologeſes on the violence with which he had invaded a Roman province, and not only beſieged the cohorts of the empire, but alſo a king in alliance with Rome. If the Parthian prince did not raiſe the ſiege, he threatened to advance with the ſtrength of his army, and encamp in the heart of the country. Caſperius, a centurion, was charged with this commiſſion. He met the king in the city of Niſibis *(a)*, diſtant about ſeven and thirty miles from Tigranocerta, and there delivered his orders in a tone of firmneſs. To avoid a war with Rome had been for ſome time the fixed reſolution of Vologeſes, and the ſucceſs of the preſent enterpriſe gave him no reaſon to alter his ſentiments.

The ſiege promiſed no kind of advantage; Tigranes poſſeſſed

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a ſtrong hold, well garriſoned, and provided with ample ſupplies; the forces, that attempted to ſtorm the works, met with a total overthrow; the Roman legions were in poſſeſſion of Armenia, and others were in readineſs, not only to cover the province of Syria, but to puſh the war into the Parthian territories: his cavalry ſuffered for want of forage, and, all vegetation being deſtroyed by a ſwarm of locuſts, neither graſs nor foliage could be found. Determined by theſe conſiderations, yet diſguiſing his fear, Vologeſes, with the ſpecious appearance of a pacific diſpoſition, returned for anſwer to Caſperius, that he ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, with inſtructions to ſolicit the ceſſion of Armenia, and the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the two nations. Meanwhile, he ſent diſpatches to Moneſes, with orders to abandon the ſiege of Tigranocerta, and, without farther delay, returned to his capital.

VI. THESE events, aſcribed by the general voice to the conduct of the general, and the terror impreſſed on the mind of Vologeſes, were extolled in terms of the higheſt commendation. And yet malignity was at work. Some would have it, "That "there was at the bottom a ſecret compact to make an end of the "war. According to their ſiniſter interpretation, it was ſtipu- "lated, that Vologeſes ſhould return to his own dominions, and "that Armenia ſhould be evacuated by Tigranes. With what "other view were the Roman ſoldiers withdrawn from Tigra- "nocerta? Why give up, by an ill-judged peace, what had "been ſo well defended in time of war? Could the army find, "at the extremity of Cappadocia, in huts ſuddenly thrown up, "better winter-quarters, than in the capital of a kingdom, "which had been preſerved by force of arms? Peace is held "forth; but it is, in fact, no more than a truce, a ſuſpenſion "of arms, that Vologeſes may have to contend with another ge- "neral,

"neral, and that Corbulo ſhould not be obliged to hazard the "great renown, which he had acquired during a ſervice of ſo "many years."

The fact was, Corbulo, as we have ſtated, required a new commander for the ſpecial purpoſe of defending Armenia, and the nomination of Cæſennius Pætus was already announced. That officer arrived in a ſhort time. A diviſion of the forces was allotted to each commander. The fourth and twelfth legions, with the fifth lately arrived from Mæſia, and a body of auxiliaries from Pontus, from Galatia and Cappadocia, were put under the command of Pætus. The third, the ſixth, and tenth legions, with the forces of Syria, were aſſigned to Corbulo. Both commanders were to act in concert, or to puſh the war in different quarters, as the occaſion might require. But the ſpirit of Corbulo could not brook a rival, and Pætus, though to be ſecond in command under ſuch a general would have been his higheſt glory, began to aſpire above himſelf. He deſpiſed the fame acquired by Corbulo, declaring all his beſt exploits to be no better than boaſted victories, without bloodſhed, and without booty; mere pretended ſieges, in which not a ſingle place was carried by aſſault. For himſelf, he was reſolved to carry on the war for more ſubſtantial purpoſes. By impoſing tributes and taxes on the vanquiſhed, he meant to reduce them to ſubjection, and, for the ſhadow of an oriental king, he would eſtabliſh the rights of conqueſt, and the authority of the Roman name.

VII. In this juncture, the ambaſſadors, who had been ſent by Vologeſes to treat with Nero, returned back to their own country. Their negotiation was unſucceſsful, and the Parthians declared war. Pætus embraced the opportunity to ſignaliſe his valour. He entered Armenia at the head of two legions; the fourth,

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commanded by Funiſulanus Vettonianus, and the twelfth by Calavius Sabinus. His firſt approach was attended with unpropitious omens. In paſſing over a bridge, which lay acroſs the Euphrates, the horſe that carried the conſular ornaments, taking fright without any apparent cauſe, broke from the ranks, and fled at full ſpeed. A victim, likewiſe, intended for ſacrifice, ſtanding near the unfiniſhed fortifications of the winter camp, eſcaped out of the entrenchments. Nor was this all: the javelins, in the hands of the ſoldiers, emitted ſudden flaſhes of fire; and this prodigy was the more alarming as the Parthians brandiſh the ſame weapon.

VIII. PORTENTS and prodigies had no effect on Pætus. Without waiting to fortify his winter encampment, and without providing a ſufficient ſtore of grain, he marched his army over Mount Taurus, determined, as he gave out, to recover Tigranocerta, and lay waſte the country through which Corbulo had paſſed with vain parade. In his progreſs ſome forts and caſtles were ſtormed, and it is certain that his ſhare of glory and of booty would have been conſiderable, if to enjoy the former with moderation, and to ſecure the latter, had been his talent. He over-ran by rapid marches vaſt tracts of country, where no conqueſt could be maintained. His proviſions, in the mean time, went to decay, and, the winter ſeaſon approaching faſt, he was obliged to return with his army. His diſpatches to Nero were in a ſtyle as grand as if he had ended the war, high ſounding, pompous, full of vain glory, but without any ſolid advantage.

IX. IN the mean time Corbulo never neglected the banks of the Euphrates. To his former chain of poſts he added new ſtations; and left the enemy, who ſhewed themſelves in detached

tached parties on the oppoſite plains, ſhould be able to obſtruct the building of a bridge over the river, he ordered a number of veſſels of large ſize to be braced together with great beams, and on that foundation raiſed a ſuperſtructure of towers armed with ſlings and warlike engines. From this floating battery he annoyed the enemy with a diſcharge of ſtones and javelins, thrown to ſuch a length, that the Parthians could not retaliate with their darts. Under this ſhelter the bridge was finiſhed. The allied cohorts paſſed over to the oppoſite hills. The legions followed, and pitched their camp. The whole of theſe operations was executed with ſuch rapidity, and ſo formidable a diſplay of ſtrength, that the Parthians abandoned their enterpriſe, and, without attempting any thing againſt the Syrians, drew off their forces to the invaſion of Armenia.

X. PÆTUS had fixed his head-quarters in that country, little aware of the ſtorm ready to burſt upon him, and ſo much off his guard, that he ſuffered the fifth legion to remain in Pontus, at a conſiderable diſtance, while he ſtill weakened his numbers by granting leave of abſence to his ſoldiers without reſerve. In this ſituation he received intelligence of the approach of Vologeſes with a powerful army. He called the twelfth legion to his aſſiſtance, and, by the neceſſity of that reinforcement, betrayed to the enemy the feeble condition of his army. He was, notwithſtanding, ſufficiently ſtrong to maintain his poſt, and baffle all the efforts of the Parthians, had it been in the genius of the man to purſue with firmneſs either his own idea, or the counſel of others. But in preſſing exigencies, he no ſooner embraced the plan recommended by officers of known experience, than his little ſpirit was ſtung with jealouſy, and, leſt he ſhould be thought to ſtand in need of advice, he was ſure to adopt very different meaſures, always changing for the worſe.

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On the firſt approach of the Parthians, he ſallied out of his entrenchments, determined to hazard a battle. Ditches and ramparts, he ſaid, were not given to him in commiſſion, nor had he any need of that defence: the ſoldier and the ſword were all he wanted. In this vapouring ſtrain he led his legions to the field; but a centurion, and a few ſoldiers, who had been ſent to reconnoitre the enemy, being cut off, his courage failed, and he ſounded a retreat. He was no ſooner in his camp, than, perceiving that Vologeſes had not preſſed on the rear, he once more grew bold, and, in a fit of valour, ordered three thouſand of his beſt infantry to take poſt on the next eminence of Mount Taurus, to diſpute the paſs with the Parthian king. The Pannonians, who formed the ſtrength of his cavalry, were drawn up on the open plain. He placed his wife and her infant ſon in a caſtle, called Arſamoſata *(a)*, and left a cohort to defend the place. In this manner he contrived to divide an army, which, acting with united force, would have been able to repel the attack of a wild and deſultory enemy. When preſſed by Vologeſes, we are told it was with difficulty that he could ſubmit to acquaint Corbulo with his ſituation. That officer did not hurry to his aſſiſtance. To augment the glory of delivering him, he was willing to let the danger increaſe. In the mean time, he ordered a detachment of a thouſand men, drafted from each of his three legions, and a body of eight hundred horſe, with an equal number from the cohorts, to hold themſelves in readineſs for a ſudden enterpriſe.

XI. VOLOGESES knew from his ſcouts that his paſſage over Mount Taurus was obſtructed by the Roman infantry, and that the plain was occupied by the Pannonian horſe; but the news did not deter him from purſuing his march. He fell with impetuous fury on the cavalry, who fled with precipitation. The

legionary ſoldiers, in like manner, abandoned their poſt. A tower, commanded by Tarquitius Creſcus, a centurion, was the only place that held out. That officer made ſeveral ſallies with ſucceſs, routing ſuch of the enemy as dared to approach the walls, and purſuing the run-aways with great ſlaughter; till by a volley of combuſtibles, thrown in by the beſiegers, the works were ſet on fire. The gallant centurion periſhed in the flames. Some of the garriſon eſcaped unhurt, and made the beſt of their way to diſtant wilds. The wounded returned to the camp, and there related wonders, magnifying, beyond all bounds, the valour of the Parthian king, the number of his troops, and their ferocity in battle. A panic pervaded the army. Men, who feared for themſelves, ſwallowed all that was ſaid with eaſy credulity. Pætus felt the preſſure of his misfortunes. He ſeemed to reſign the command, unable to ſtruggle with adverſity. He ſent again to Corbulo, with earneſt prayers entreating him to ſave the Roman eagles, with the ſtandards of an unfortunate army, and the army itſelf, from impending ruin. In the mean time, he and his men would hold out to the laſt, determined to live or die in the ſervice of their country.

XII. Corbulo, as uſual, firm and collected in the moment of danger, prepared for the expedition. Having left a ſufficient force to guard his poſts on the banks of the Euphrates, he moved forward towards Armenia, taking the ſhorteſt route through Commagena, and next through Cappadocia, both fertile countries, and capable of furniſhing ſupplies for his army. Beſides the uſual train attending on a march, he took with him a number of camels, loaded with grain, to anſwer the double purpoſe of preventing the want of proviſions, and of ſtriking the enemy with the terror of an unuſual appearance. Pactius, a centurion of principal rank *(a)*, was the firſt from the vanquiſhed army that encountered

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countered Corbulo on his march. The common men came up ſoon after, all endeavouring by various excuſes to palliate their diſgrace. The general ordered them to join their colours, and try to gain their pardon from Pætus. The merciful diſpoſition of that officer might incline him to forgive; but, for himſelf, he favoured none but ſuch as conquered by their valour. He then addreſſed his own legions, viſiting the ranks, and inſpiring all with zeal and ardour. He called to mind their paſt exploits, and opened to their view a new field of glory. "It is not," he ſaid, "the towns and villages of Armenia that now demand "our ſwords: a Roman camp invokes our aid, and two legions "look to us for relief. Their delivery from the Barbarians will "be the reward of victory. If to a private ſoldier the civic "crown *(b)*, delivered by the hand of his general, is the brighteſt "recompenſe for the life of a citizen ſaved; how much greater "will be the glory of the preſent enterpriſe, in which the num-"ber of the diſtreſſed is equal to thoſe who bring relief, and, by "conſequence, every ſoldier in this army may ſave his man!" By this diſcourſe one general ſpirit was diffuſed through the ranks. The men had private motives to inflame their courage; they felt for their brothers; they wiſhed to ſuccour their relations, and, without halting night or day, purſued their march with alacrity and vigour.

XIII. Meanwhile Vologeſes preſſed on the ſiege. He aſſaulted the entrenchments; he endeavoured to ſtorm a caſtle, where the weaker ſex, the aged, and infirm were lodged for ſecurity. In theſe ſeveral attacks, he came to a cloſer engagement than uſually conſiſts with the military genius of his country. By a ſhow of temerity he hoped to bring on a deciſive action. The Romans remained cloſe in their tents, content with a ſafe poſt within their entrenchments; ſome in deference to the orders

orders of their general; others, through want of ſpirit, tamely waiting to be relieved by Corbulo. If, in the mean time, the enemy overpowered them, they called to mind, by way of conſolation, the example of two Roman armies that paſſed under the yoke; one at Caudium *(a)*, and the other at Numantia. By thoſe two events ſubmiſſion, in their preſent diſtreſs, would be fully juſtified, ſince neither the Samnites, nor the Carthaginians, thoſe famous rivals of the Roman republic, could be compared with the extenſive power of the Parthian empire: and, moreover, the boaſted virtue of the ancient Romans, however decorated by the praiſes of poſterity, was always pliant in misfortune, and willing to make terms with the conqueror. By this unwarlike ſpirit of his army Pætus was driven to deſpair. He wrote to Vologeſes. His letter was more in the ſtyle of reproach than the language of a ſuppliant. "Hoſtilities," he ſaid, "were commenced by the Parthians to wreſt the kingdom of Armenia "from the Romans; a kingdom always in the power of the "emperor, or governed by kings inveſted by him with the regal "diadem. Peace is equally the intereſt of both nations. From the "preſent juncture no concluſion can be drawn, ſince the whole "weight of Parthia is employed againſt two legions, and Rome "has it ſtill in her power to arm in her cauſe the remaining na-"tions of the world."

XIV. VOLOGESES, without entering into the queſtion of right, returned for anſwer, "That he muſt wait for his two brothers, "Pacorus and Tiridates: when they arrived, a convention "might be held, and there the rights of Armenia would be ad-"juſted. The gods would then decide the fate of the Roman "legions." Pætus ſent another embaſſy, requeſting an interview. The king ſent Vaſaces, his general of the cavalry, to act in the royal name. At that meeting Pætus cited a number of an-

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cient precedents. He talked of Lucullus, Pompey, and the emperors of Rome, who had dealt out the ſceptre of Armenia. Vaſaces coolly anſwered, that ſome ſhadow of right muſt be allowed to have been claimed by the Romans; but the ſubſtantial power was always veſted in the Parthian kings. After much debate, it was agreed, that on the next day, Monobazus, the Adiabenian, ſhould attend as a witneſs to the compact. In his preſence it was agreed that, the ſiege being raiſed, the Roman legions ſhould forthwith evacuate Armenia; that the ſtrong holds, with their ſtores and magazines, ſhould be delivered up to the Parthians; and, theſe conditions duly performed, Vologeſes was to be at liberty, by his ambaſſadors, to negociate with Nero.

XV. THESE preliminaries being ſettled, Pætus ordered a bridge to be built over the Arſanias *(a)*, a river that flowed by the ſide of his camp. For this work his pretext was, that it would be convenient to his army, when the march began: but the fact was, the Parthians, knowing the utility of a bridge, had made it an article of the treaty, intending, at the ſame time, that it ſhould remain a monument of their victory. The Roman troops, inſtead of uſing the bridge, filed off another way. A report *(b)* was ſpread abroad, that the legions had paſſed under the yoke, and, in addition to that diſgrace, ſuffered all the humiliating circumſtances, which uſually attend the overthrow of an army. The Armenians gave ſome colour to the report. Before the Romans marched out, they entered the entrenchments, and formed a line on each ſide, in order to fix on the ſlaves and beaſts of burthen that formerly belonged to themſelves. Not content with ſeizing what they called their own property, they laid violent hands on the apparel of the ſoldiers, who yielded, with fear and trembling, to avoid a new cauſe of quarrel.

Vologeſes,

Vologeſes, as a monument of his victory, raiſed a pile of dead bodies, and arms taken from the enemy; but declined to be a ſpectator of the legions in their flight. He firſt indulged his pride, and then ſought the fame of moderation. He waded acroſs the Arſanias, mounted on an elephant, while his train and his near relations followed him on horſeback. The reaſon was, a report prevailed, that, by the fraudulent contrivance of the builders, the whole fabric of the bridge would give way at once; but by thoſe, who made the experiment, it was found to be a firm and ſolid ſtructure.

XVI. The beſieged, it is now clear, were provided with grain in ſuch abundance, that, on their departure, they burned their magazines; and, on the other hand, by the account given by Corbulo, it appears, that the Parthians, having conſumed their whole ſtock of proviſions, were on the point of raiſing the ſiege, at the very time when he was within three days march of the place. Upon the ſame authority it may be averred as a fact, that Pætus, under the ſanction of a ſolemn oath, ſworn under the eagles, and in the preſence of witneſſes ſent by Vologeſes, took upon him to engage, that no Roman ſhould ſet his foot within the territories of Armenia, till Nero's pleaſure touching the terms of the treaty ſhould arrive from Rome. Theſe aſſertions, it may be ſaid, were ſuggeſted by malignity, to aggravate the infamy of an unwarlike officer; but it is now known, beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, that Pætus made a forced march of no leſs than forty miles in one day; leaving behind him the ſick and wounded, and flying, with as much diſorder and confuſion, as if he had been routed in the field of battle. Corbulo met the fugitives on the banks of the Euphrates. He received them without parade, and without that diſplay of military pomp which might ſeem a triumph over the fate of the vanquiſhed. His men beheld with

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regret the diſgrace of their fellow-ſoldiers, and tears guſhed from every eye. The uſual forms of military ſalutation were ſuppreſſed by the general condolence. The pride of courage and the ſenſe of glory, which, in the day of proſperity, are natural paſſions, were now converted into grief and ſympathy. The lower the condition of the ſoldier, the more ſincere his ſorrow. In that claſs of men the honeſt emotions of the heart appeared without diſguiſe.

XVII. The conference between the two commanders was ſhort, and without ceremony. Corbulo complained that all his labours were rendered abortive, whereas the war might have been terminated by the total overthrow of the Parthians. Pætus obſerved in reply, that all things were ſtill in the ſame condition. He propoſed to turn the eagles againſt the enemy, and, ſince Vologeſes had withdrawn his forces, by their joint force Armenia would be eaſily reduced. Corbulo rejected the offer. He had no ſuch orders from the emperor. It was the danger, in which the legions were involved that drew him out of his province, and, ſince it was uncertain where the Parthians would make their next attempt, he was determined to return into Syria with his army; and if his infantry, haraſſed out with fatiguing marches, could keep pace with the Parthian cavalry, who with their uſual velocity could traverſe the open plains, he ſhould hold himſelf indebted to his own good fortune for ſo ſignal an event. Pætus fixed his winter-quarters in Cappadocia. Vologeſes ſent diſpatches to Corbulo, requiring, that the ſtrong holds and fortreſſes on the banks of the Euphrates ſhould be raſed to the ground, and the river left, as heretofore, the common boundary of the two empires. Corbulo had no objection, provided both parties withdrew their garriſons, and left Armenia a free and independant country. The Parthian monarch, after ſome heſitation, acceded

acceded to the terms. The caſtles erected, by Corbulo's order, on the banks of the Euphrates, were all demoliſhed, and the Armenians were left to their natural liberty.

XVIII. MEANWHILE trophies of victory were erected at Rome, and triumphal arches on the mount of the capitol. This was ordered by the ſenate, while the war was ſtill depending; nor was the work diſcontinued, when the event was known. The public eye was amuſed at the expence of truth. To add to the impoſition, and to appear free from all ſolicitude about foreign affairs, Nero ordered all the damaged grain, that lay in the public ſtores, to be thrown into the Tiber. By this act of oſtentation an idea of great abundance was to be impreſſed on the minds of the people. Nor did he ſuffer the price of corn to be raiſed, though near two hundred veſſels, loaded with grain, were loſt in the harbour by the violence of a ſtorm, and a hundred more, working their way up the Tiber, were deſtroyed by the accident of fire. At the ſame time Nero committed the care of the public impoſts to three men of conſular rank, namely, Lucius Piſo, Ducennius Geminus, and Pompeius Paullinus. In making this arrangement he animadverted with ſeverity on the conduct of former emperors, whoſe extravagance made heavy anticipations of the revenue; whereas he himſelf, by his frugality, paid annually into the treaſury, for the exigencies of the ſtate, ſix millions of ſeſterces.

XIX. A CUSTOM, highly unjuſt and prejudicial to the rights of others, was, at this time, in general vogue. When the time drew near for the election of magiſtrates, or the allotment of provinces, it was the practice of men, who had no iſſue *(a)*, to become fathers by adoption. Having ſerved their turn in a conteſt with real parents for the prætorſhip, and the adminiſtration

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of provinces, they emancipated their pretended ſons, and reſumed their former ſtate. Againſt this abuſe warm remonſtrances were made to the ſenate. The complainants urged the rights of nature, the care and expence of rearing children, while the compenſation by law eſtabliſhed *(b)* was wreſted from them by fraud, by artifice, and the facility of feigned adoptions. It was ſurely a ſufficient advantage to ſuch as had no children, that they could live free from all charge and ſolicitude, without leaving the road to favour, to preferment, and honours open to them in common with men who are of ſervice to the community. Real parents are taught by the laws to expect the reward due to uſeful members of the community; but the laws are eluded, and the promiſed reward is ſnatched away, if ſuch, as have raiſed no heirs to themſelves, are allowed to become parents without paternal affection, and childleſs again without regret. The deception of a moment ſerves to counterbalance whole years of expectation, and the true father ſees all his hopes defeated. The ſenate paſſed a decree, by which it was provided, that in all caſes, either of election to the magiſtracy, or ſucceſſion by teſtament, no regard ſhould be paid to adoptions merely colourable.

XX. CLAUDIUS TIMARCHUS, a native of Crete, was cited to anſwer a proſecution commenced againſt him. Beſides the allegations uſually laid to the charge of ſuch as riſe in the provinces to overgrown wealth, and become the oppreſſors of their inferior neighbours, an expreſſion, that fell from him, excited the indignation of the ſenate. This man, it ſeems, had made it his boaſt, that addreſſes of public thanks to the proconſular governors of Crete depended entirely on his weight and influence. Pætus Thraſea ſeized this opportunity to convert the incident to the public good. He gave his opinion that the offender ought to be baniſhed from the iſle of Crete, and proceeded as follows: "Ex-

" perience has taught us, conſcript fathers, that the wiſeſt laws " and the beſt examples of virtue owe their origin to the actual " commiſſion of crimes and miſdemeanours. Men of integrity " make it their ſtudy, on ſuch occaſions, to deduce good from " evil. To the corrupt practices of public orators we are in- " debted for the Cincian law *(a)*, and for the Julian to the intrigues " and open bribery of the candidates for public honours. The " Calpurnian regulations *(b)* were produced by the avarice and " rapacity of the magiſtrates. Guilt muſt precede the puniſh- " ment, and reformation grows out of abuſe. We have now before " us the pride and inſolence of petty tyrants in the provinces. To " check the miſchief, let us come to a reſolution, conſiſtent with " good faith, and worthy of the Roman name. Protection is due " to our allies; but let us remember, that, to adorn our names, " we are not to depend on the voice of foreign nations. Our " fellow-citizens are the beſt judges of our conduct.

XXI. " The old republic was not content with ſending præ- " tors and conſuls to adminiſter the provinces. Men who ſuſ- " tained no public character were often commiſſioned to viſit the " remoteſt colonies, in order to report the condition of each, and " the temper with which the people ſubmitted to the authority of " government. By the judgment of individuals whole nations " were kept in awe. What is our practice now? We pay court " to the colonies; we flatter the provinces, and, by the influence " of ſome powerful leader, we receive public thanks for our ad- " miniſtration. In like manner, accuſations are framed at the " will and pleaſure of ſome overgrown provincial. Let the right " of complaining ſtill remain; and, by exerciſing that right, let " the provinces ſhew their importance; but let them not, by falſe " encomiums, impoſe upon our judgment. The praiſe, that ſprings " from cabal and faction, is more pernicious than even malice or " cruelty.

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" cruelty. Let both be ſuppreſſed. More miſchief is done by " the governor who wiſhes to oblige, than by him who ſhews " himſelf not afraid of offending. It is the misfortune of certain " virtues to provoke ill will. In that claſs may be reckoned in- " flexible ſeverity, and the firmneſs that never yields to intrigue, " or the arts of deſigning men. Hence it happens, that every " new governor opens a promiſing ſcene, but the laſt act ſeldom " correſponds with the outſet. In the end we ſee an humble can- " didate for the ſuffrages of the province. Remove the evil, and " government, in every quarter, will be more upright, more juſt, " more uniform. By proſecutions avarice and rapine have re- " ceived a check. Aboliſh the cuſtom of giving public thanks, " and you ſuppreſs the pitiful ambition which, for vain applauſe, " can ſtoop to mean compliances."

XXII. THIS ſpeech was received with the unanimous aſſent of the fathers. The propoſition, notwithſtanding, could not be formed into a decree, the conſuls refuſing to make their report. The prince interpoſed in the buſineſs, and, with his authority, a law was paſſed, forbidding any perſon whatever to move in a provincial aſſembly *(a)* for a vote of thanks to the proconſul or prætor, or to ſend a deputation to Rome for that purpoſe. During the ſame conſulſhip, the gymnaſium, or place of athletic exerciſes, was ſtruck with lightning, and burnt to the ground. The ſtatue of Nero was found in the ruins, melted down to a ſhapeleſs maſs. The celebrated city of Pompeii *(b)* in Campania was overthrown by an earthquake, and well nigh demoliſhed. Lælia, the veſtal virgin, departed this life; and Cornelia, deſcended from the family of the Coſſi, ſucceeded to the vacant office.

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XXIII. DURING the conſulſhip of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus, Poppæa was delivered of a daughter. The exultation

ultation of Nero was beyond all mortal joy. He called the new-born infant Auguſta, and gave the ſame title to her mother. The child was brought into the world at Antium, where Nero himſelf was born. The ſenate, before the birth, had offered vows to the gods for the ſafe delivery of Poppæa. They fulfilled their obligations, and voted additional honours. Days of ſupplication were appointed: a temple was voted to the goddeſs of fecundity; athletic ſports were inſtituted on the model of the religious games practiſed at Antium; golden ſtatues to the two goddeſſes of fortune *(a)* were to be erected on the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus; and in honour of the Claudian and Domitian families *(b)* Circenſian games were to be celebrated at Antium, in imitation of the public ſpectacles exhibited at Bovillæ to commemorate the Julian race. But theſe honours were of ſhort duration: the infant died in leſs than four months, and the monuments of human vanity faded away. But new modes of flattery were ſoon diſplayed: the child was canonized for a goddeſs; a temple was decreed to her, with an altar, a bed of ſtate, a prieſt, and religious ceremonies.

Nero's grief, like his joy at the birth, was without bounds or meaſure. At the time when the ſenate went in crowds to Antium, to congratulate the prince on the delivery of Poppæa, a circumſtance occurred worthy of notice. Pætus Thraſca was ordered by Nero not to appear upon that occaſion. The affront was deemed a prelude to the ruin of that eminent citizen. He received the mandate with his uſual firmneſs, calm and undiſmayed. A report prevailed ſoon after, that Nero, in converſation with Seneca, made it his boaſt, that he was reconciled to Thraſca, and in return the philoſopher wiſhed him joy. In conſequence of this incident the glory of thoſe excellent men roſe to the higheſt pitch; but their danger kept pace with their glory.

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XXIV. In the beginning of the ſpring ambaſſadors from Vologeſes arrived at Rome, with letters from the king, their maſter, in ſubſtance declaring, "that he would not revive the queſtion "of right, ſo often urged and fully diſcuſſed, ſince the gods, the "ſovereign arbiters of nations, had delivered Armenia into the "hands of the Parthians, not without diſgrace to the Roman "name. Tigranes had been hemmed in by a cloſe blockade; "Pætus and his legions were enveloped in the like diſtreſs, and, "in the moment when deſtruction hung over them, the whole "army was ſuffered to decamp. The Parthians diſplayed at "once their ſuperior valour and their moderation. But even in "the preſent juncture Tiridates had no objection to a long "journey to Rome, in order to be there inveſted with the ſo-"vereignty; but, being of the order of the Magi, the duties of "the ſacerdotal function *(a)* required his perſonal attendance. "He was willing, however, to proceed tot he Roman camp, and "there receive the regal diadem under the eagles, and the images of "the emperor, in the preſence of the legions."

XXV. The ſtyle of this letter differed eſſentially from the account tranſmitted by Pætus, who repreſented the affairs of the eaſt in a flouriſhing ſituation. To aſcertain the truth, a centurion, who had travelled with the ambaſſadors, was interrogated concerning the ſtate of Armenia. The Romans, he replied, have evacuated the country. Nero felt the inſulting mockery of being aſked to yield what the Barbarians had ſeized by force. He ſummoned a council of the leading men at Rome, to determine, by their advice, which was moſt eligible, a difficult and laborious war, or an ignominious peace. All declared for war. The conduct of it was committed to Corbulo, who, by the experience of ſo many years, knew both the temper of the Roman army, and the genius of the enemy. The miſconduct of Pætus had brought

disgrace on the Roman name; and to hazard the same calamities from the incapacity of another officer, was not advisable.

The Parthian deputies received their answer, but were dismissed with handsome presents, leaving them room to infer from the mild behaviour of the emperor, that Tiridates, if he made the request in person, might succeed to the extent of his wishes. The civil administration of Syria was committed to Cestius, but the whole military authority was assigned to Corbulo. The fifteenth legion, then in Pannonia under the command of Marius Celsus, was ordered to join the army. Directions were also given to the kings and tetrarchs of the east, as also to the governors and imperial procurators of the several provinces in those parts, to submit in every thing to the commander in chief. Corbulo was now invested with powers little short of what the Roman people committed to Pompey *(a)* in the war against the pirates. Pætus, in the mean time, returned to Rome, not without apprehensions of being called to a severe account. Nero appeased his fears, content with a few sallies of mirth and ridicule. His words were, "I make haste to pardon you, lest a state of suspense should "injure a man of your sensibility. Since you are so apt to take "fright, delay on my part might hurt your nerves, and bring on "a fit of illness."

XXVI. CORBULO expected no advantage to the service from the fourth and twelfth legions, the bravest of their men being all cut off, and the survivors still remaining covered with consternation. He removed them into Syria; and, in exchange, reinforced himself with the sixth legion, and the third; both in full vigour, inured to hardship, and no less distinguished by their success than by their valour. To these he added the fifth legion, which happened to be quartered in Pontus, and, by consequence,

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had not ſuffered in the late defeat. The fifteenth legion had lately joined the army, as alſo a body of ſelect troops from Illyricum and Ægypt, with the cavalry, the cohorts, and auxiliaries ſent by the confederate kings. The whole force aſſembled at Melitene *(a)*, where Corbulo propoſed to croſs the Euphrates. His firſt care was to purify his army by a ſolemn luſtration *(b)*. Thoſe rites performed, he called his men to a meeting, and in a ſpirited harangue painted forth the auſpicious government of the reigning prince; he mentioned his own exploits, and imputed to the imbecility of Pætus all the diſaſters that happened. The whole of his diſcourſe was delivered in a ſtyle of authority, the true eloquence of a ſoldier.

XXVII. He began his march without delay, and choſe the road formerly traverſed by Lucullus *(a)*, having firſt given orders to his men to open the paſſes, and remove the obſtructions, with which time and long diſuſe had choaked up part of the way. He heard that ambaſſadors from Tiridates and Vologeſes were advancing with overtures of peace, and having no inclination to treat them with diſdain, he ſent forward ſome choſen centurions, with inſtructions neither harſh nor arrogant, in ſubſtance ſtating, "that the miſunderſtanding between the two nations might ſtill "be compromiſed, without proceeding to the deciſion of the "ſword. Both armies had fought with alternate viciſſitudes of "fortune, in ſome inſtances favourable to the Romans, in others "to the Parthians; and from thoſe events both ſides might derive "a leſſon againſt the pride and inſolence of victory. It was the "intereſt of Tiridates to receive, at the hands of the Roman em-"peror, a kingdom in a flouriſhing ſtate, before hoſtile armies "laid a ſcene of deſolation; and Vologeſes would conſult his own "advantage, as well as that of his people, by preferring the friend-"ſhip of Rome to wild ambition and the havoc of a deſtructive "war.

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" war. The internal diſſenſions that diſtract the kingdom of " Parthia are too well known. It is alſo known, that Vologeſes " has for his ſubjects fierce and barbarous nations, whom no law " can check, no government can controul. Nero, on the con- " trary, ſees a ſettled calm throughout the Roman world, and, " except the rupture with Parthia, has no other war upon his " hands." Such was Corbulo's anſwer. To give it weight, he added the terrors of the ſword. The grandees of Armenia, who had been the firſt to revolt, were driven out of their poſſeſſions, and their caſtles were levelled to the ground. Between the weak, who made no reſiſtance, and the brave and reſolute, no diſtinction was made. All were involved in one common danger; no place was ſafe; hills and mountains no leſs than the open plain were filled with conſternation.

XXVIII. The name of Corbulo was not, as is uſual among adverſe nations, hated by the enemy. He was, on the contrary, held in high eſteem, and, by conſequence, his advice had great weight with the Barbarians. Vologeſes did not wiſh for a general war. He deſired a truce in favour of ſome particular provinces. Tiridates propoſed an interview with the Roman general. An early day was appointed. The place for the congreſs was choſen by the prince on the very ſpot where Pætus and his legions were inveſted. The ſcene of their late victory flattered the pride of the Barbarians. Corbulo did not decline the meeting. The face of things he knew was changed, and the reverſe of fortune was glorious to himſelf. The diſgrace of Pætus gave him no anxiety. Having reſolved to pay the laſt funeral rites to the ſlaughtered ſoldiers, whoſe bodies lay weltering on the field, he choſe, for that purpoſe, the ſon of the vanquiſhed general, then a military tribune, and ordered him to march at the head of the companies appointed to perform that melancholy duty.

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duty. On the day fixed for the convention *(a)*, Tiberius Alexander, a Roman knight, who had been ſent by Nero to ſuperintend the operations of the campaign, and with him Vivianus Annius, ſon-in-law to Corbulo, but not yet of ſenatorian age *(b)*, though, in the abſence of his ſuperior officer, he was appointed to command the fifth legion, arrived in the camp of Tiridates, in the character of hoſtages, choſen, not only to remove from the mind of the prince all ſuſpicion, but at the ſame time to do him honour. The Parthian and the Roman general proceeded to the interview, each attended by twenty horſemen. As ſoon as they drew near, Tiridates leaped from his horſe. Corbulo returned the compliment. They advanced on foot, and took each other by the hand.

XXIX. The Roman general addreſſed the prince. He praiſed the judgment of a young man, who had the moderation to prefer pacific meaſures to the calamities of war. Tiridates expatiated on the ſplendour of his illuſtrious line, and then taking a milder tone, agreed to ſet out on a journey to Rome. In a juncture when the affairs of Parthia were in a flouriſhing ſtate, a prince, deſcended from the Arſacides humbling himſelf before the emperor, would preſent to the Roman people a new ſcene of glory. It was then ſettled as a preliminary article, that Tiridates ſhould lay down the regal diadem at the foot of Nero's ſtatue, and never again reſume it, till delivered to him by the hand of the emperor. The parties embraced each other, and the convention ended.

In a few days afterwards the two armies were drawn out with great military pomp. On one ſide ſtood the Parthian cavalry, ranged in battalions, with all the pride of eaſtern magnificence. The Roman legions appeared on the oppoſite ground, the eagles glittering to the eye, the banners diſplayed, and the images of the

the gods, in regular order, forming a kind of temple. In the centre ſtood a tribunal, and upon it a curule chair ſupporting the ſtatue of Nero. Tiridates approached. Having immolated victims with the uſual rites, he took the diadem from his brow, and laid it at the foot of the ſtatue. The ſpectators gazed with earneſt ardour, and every boſom heaved with mixed emotions. The place where the legions were beſieged and forced to capitulate was before the eye, and the ſame ſpot exhibited a reverſe of fortune. They ſaw Tiridates on the point of ſetting out for Rome, a ſpectacle to the nations through which he was to paſs, and to exhibit, in the preſence of Nero, the humble condition of a ſuppliant prince; how little better than a captive!

XXX. To the glory reſulting from theſe events Corbulo added the graceful qualities of affability and condeſcenſion. He invited Tiridates to a banquet. The prince was ſtruck with the novelty of Roman manners. Every object awakened his curioſity. He deſired to know the reaſon of all that he obſerved. When the watch *(a)* was ſtationed, why was it announced by a centurion? Why did the company, when the banquet cloſed, riſe from table at the ſound of a trumpet? And why was the fire on the augural altar lighted with a torch? The Roman general anſwered all enquiries, not without partiality for his country. He aggrandized every thing, and gave the Parthian the nobleſt idea of the manners and inſtitutions of the ancient Romans. On the following day Tiridates deſired reaſonable time to prepare for ſo long a journey, and, before he undertook it, deſired that he might be at liberty to viſit his mother and his brothers. His requeſt was granted. The prince delivered up his daughter, as a hoſtage, and diſpatched letters to Nero in terms of ſubmiſſion.

XXXI. He met his two brothers, Pacorus in Media, and Vologeſes

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Vologeſes at Ecbatana *(a)*. The Parthian king was not inattentive to the intereſt of Tiridates. He had already ſent diſpatches to Corbulo, requeſting that his brother ſhould not be diſgraced by any circumſtance that looked like a badge of ſlavery; that he ſhould not be obliged to ſurrender his ſword; that the honour of embracing the governors *(b)* of the ſeveral provinces ſhould not be denied to him; that he ſhould not undergo the humiliating affront of waiting at their gates, or in their antichambers; and that at Rome he ſhould be treated with all the marks of diſtinction uſually paid to the conſuls. The truth is, the Parthian king, trained up in all the pride of deſpotiſm, knew but little of the Romans. He was not informed, that it is the character and policy of that people to maintain, with zeal, the ſubſtantial intereſts of the empire, without any regard to petty formalities, the mere ſhadow of dominion.

XXXII. In the courſe of the year Nero granted the rights and privileges of Latium to the maritime nations *(a)* at the foot of the Alps. He likewiſe aſſigned to the Roman knights diſtinct ſeats in the circus, advancing them before the ſpace allotted to the populace. Till this regulation took place, the knights were mixed indiſcriminately with the multitude, the Roſcian law *(b)* extending to no more than fourteen rows of the theatre. A ſpectacle of gladiators was exhibited this year, in nothing inferior to the magnificence diſplayed on former occaſions; but a number of ſenators, and women of illuſtrious rank, deſcended into the arena *(c)*, and, by exhibiting their perſons in the liſts, brought diſgrace on themſelves and their families.

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XXXIII. In the conſulſhip of Caius Læcanius and Marcus Licinius, Nero's paſſion for theatrical fame broke out with a degree of vehemence not to be reſiſted. He had hitherto performed

in private only, during the ſports of the Roman youth, called the JUVENALIA; but, upon thoſe occaſions, he was confined to his own palace or his gardens; a ſphere too limited for ſuch bright ambition, and ſo fine a voice. He glowed with impatience to preſent himſelf before the public eye, but had not yet the courage to make his firſt appearance at Rome. Naples was deemed a Greek city, and, for that reaſon, a proper place to begin his career of glory. With the laurels, which he was there to acquire, he might paſs over into Greece, and after gaining, by victory in ſong, the glorious crown which antiquity conſidered as a ſacred prize, he might return to Rome, with his honours blooming round him, and by his celebrity inflame the curioſity of the populace. With this idea he purſued his plan. The theatre at Naples was crowded with ſpectators. Not only the inhabitants of the city, but a prodigious multitude from all the municipal towns and colonies in the neighbourhood, flocked together, attracted by the novelty of a ſpectacle ſo very extraordinary. All who followed the prince, to pay their court, or as perſons belonging to his train, attended on the occaſion. The menial ſervants, and even the common ſoldiers, were admitted to enjoy the pleaſures of the day.

XXXIV. THE theatre, of courſe, was crowded. An accident happened, which men in general conſidered as an evil omen: with the emperor it paſſed for a certain ſign of the favour and protection of the gods. As ſoon as the audience diſperſed, the theatre tumbled to pieces. No other miſchief followed. Nero ſeized the opportunity to compoſe hymns of gratitude. He ſung them himſelf, celebrating with melodious airs his happy eſcape from the ruin. Being now determined to croſs the Adriatic, he ſtopt at Beneventum. At that place Vatinius entertained him with a ſhew of gladiators. Of all the deteſtable characters that

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diſgraced the court of Nero, this man was the moſt pernicious. He was bred up in a ſhoe-maker's ſtall. Deformed in his perſon, he poſſeſſed a vein of ribaldry and vulgar humour, which qualified him to ſucceed as buffoon. In the character of a jeſter he recommended himſelf to notice, but ſoon forſook his ſcurrility for the trade of an informer; and having by the ruin of the worthieſt citizens arrived at eminence in guilt, he roſe to wealth and power, the moſt dangerous miſcreant of that evil period!

XXXV. NERO was a conſtant ſpectator of the ſports exhibited at Beneventum; but even amidſt his diverſions his heart knew no pauſe from cruelty. He compelled Torquatus Silanus to put an end to his life, for no other reaſon, than becauſe he united to the ſplendor of the Junian family the honour of being great grandſon to Auguſtus *(a)*. The proſecutors, ſuborned for the buſineſs, alleged againſt him, that, having prodigally waſted his fortune in gifts and largeſſes, he had no reſource left but war and civil commotion. With that deſign he retained about his perſon men of rank and diſtinction, employed in various offices: he had his ſecretaries, his treaſurers, and paymaſters, all in the ſtyle of imperial dignity, even then anticipating what his ambition aimed at. This charge being made in form, ſuch of his freedmen as were known to be in the confidence of their maſter were ſeized, and loaded with fetters. Silanus ſaw that his doom was impending, and, to prevent the ſentence of condemnation, opened the veins of both his arms. Nero, according to his cuſtom, expreſſed himſelf in terms of lenity. "The guilt of Silanus," he ſaid, "was manifeſt; and, though, by an act of deſpair, he "ſhewed that his crimes admitted no defence, his life would "have been ſpared, had he thought proper to truſt to the cle-"mency of his judge."

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XXXVI. In a ſhort time after, Nero, for reaſons not ſufficiently explained, reſolved to defer his expedition into Greece. He returned to Rome, cheriſhing in imagination a new deſign to viſit the eaſtern nations, and Ægypt in particular. This project had been for ſome time ſettled in his mind. He announced it by a proclamation, in which he aſſured the people, that his abſence would be of ſhort duration, and, in the interval, the peace and good order of the commonwealth would be in no kind of danger. For the ſucceſs of his voyage he went to offer up prayers in the capitol. He proceeded thence to the temple of Veſta. Being there ſeized with a ſudden tremor in every joint, ariſing either from a ſuperſtitious fear of the goddeſs, or from a troubled conſcience, which never ceaſed to goad and perſecute him, he renounced his enterpriſe altogether, artfully pretending that the love of his country, which he felt warm at his heart, was dearer to him than all other conſiderations. "I have ſeen," he ſaid, "the dejected looks of the people; I have heard the mur-
"murs of complaint: the idea of ſo long a voyage afflicts the
"citizens; and, indeed, how ſhould it be otherwiſe, when the
"ſhorteſt excurſion I could make was always ſure to depreſs
"their ſpirits? The ſight of their prince has, at all times, been
"their comfort and their beſt ſupport. In private families the
"pleges of natural affection can ſoften the reſolutions of a father,
"and mould him to their purpoſe: the people of Rome have the
"ſame aſcendant over the mind of their ſovereign. I feel their
"influence; I yield to their wiſhes." With theſe and ſuch like expreſſions he amuſed the multitude. Their love of public ſpectacles made them eager for his preſence, and, above all, they dreaded, if he left the capitol, a dearth of proviſions. The ſenate and the leading men looked on with indifference, unable to decide which was moſt to be dreaded, his preſence in the city, or his tyranny at a diſtance. They agreed at length (as in alarm-

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ing caſes fear is always in haſte to conclude) that what happened was the worſt evil that could befall them.

XXXVII. NERO wiſhed it to be believed that Rome was the place in which he moſt delighted. To diffuſe this opinion, he eſtabliſhed convivial meetings in all the ſquares and public places *(a)*. The whole city ſeemed to be his houſe. Of the various feaſts given upon this occaſion, that, which was prepared for the prince by Tigellinus, exceeded in profuſion and luxury every thing of the kind. I ſhall here give a deſcription of this celebrated entertainment, that the reader, from one example, may form his idea of the prodigality of the times, and that hiſtory may not be encumbered with a repetition of the ſame enormities. Tigellinus gave his banquet on the lake of Agrippa *(b)*, on a platform of prodigious ſize *(c)*, built for the reception of the gueſts.

To move this magnificent edifice to and fro on the water, he prepared a number of boats ſuperbly decorated with gold and ivory. The rowers were a band of Pathics. Each had his ſtation, according to his age, or his ſkill in the ſcience of debauchery. The country round was ranſacked for game and animals of the chaſe. Fiſh was brought from every ſea, and even from the ocean *(b)*. On the borders of the lake brothels were erected, and filled with women of illuſtrious rank. On the oppoſite bank was ſeen a band of harlots, who made no ſecret of their vices, or their perſons. In wanton dance and laſcivious attitudes they diſplayed their naked charms. When night came on, a ſudden illumination from the adjacent groves and buildings blazed over the lake. A concert of muſic, vocal and inſtrumental, enlivened the ſcene. Nero rioted in all kinds of laſcivious pleaſure. Between lawful and unlawful gratifications he made no diſtinction. Corruption

ruption ſeemed to be at a ſtand, if, at the end of a few days, he had not deviſed a new abomination to fill the meaſure of his crimes. He perſonated a woman, and in that character was given in marriage to one of his infamous herd, a Pathic, named Pythagoras *(d)*. The emperor of Rome, with the affected airs of female delicacy, put on the nuptial veil. The augurs aſſiſted at the ceremony; the portion of the bride was openly paid *(e)*; the genial bed was diſplayed to view; nuptial torches were lighted up; the whole was public, not even excepting the endearments which, in a natural marriage, decency reſerves for the ſhades of night.

XXXVIII. A DREADFUL calamity followed in a ſhort time after, by ſome aſcribed to chance, and by others *(a)* to the execrable wickedneſs of Nero. The authority of hiſtorians is on both ſides, and which preponderates it is not eaſy to determine. It is, however, certain, that of all the diſaſters that ever befel the city of Rome from the rage of fire, this was the worſt, the moſt violent, and deſtructive. The flame broke out in that part of the circus which adjoins, on one ſide, to mount Palatine, and, on the other, to mount Cælius. It caught a number of ſhops ſtored with combuſtible goods, and, gathering force from the winds, ſpread with rapidity from one end of the circus to the other. Neither the thick walls of houſes, nor the incloſure of temples, nor any other building, could check the rapid progreſs of the flames. A dreadful conflagration followed. The level parts of the city were deſtroyed. The fire communicated to the higher buildings, and, again laying hold of inferior places, ſpread with a degree of velocity that nothing could reſiſt. The form of the ſtreets, long and narrow, with frequent windings, and no regular opening, according to the plan of ancient Rome *(b)*, contributed

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to increaſe the miſchief. The ſhrieks and lamentations of women, the infirmities of age, and the weakneſs of the young and tender, added miſery to the dreadful ſcene. Some endeavoured to provide for themſelves, others to ſave their friends, in one part dragging along the lame and impotent, in another waiting to receive the tardy, or expecting relief themſelves; they hurried, they lingered, they obſtructed one another; they looked behind, and the fire broke out in front; they eſcaped from the flames, and in their place of refuge found no ſafety; the fire raged in every quarter; all were involved in one general conflagration.

The unhappy wretches fled to places remote, and thought themſelves ſecure, but ſoon perceived the flames raging round them. Which way to turn, what to avoid, or what to ſeek, no one could tell. They crowded the ſtreets; they fell proſtrate on the ground; they lay ſtretched in the fields, in conſternation and diſmay reſigned to their fate. Numbers loſt their whole ſubſtance, even the tools and implements by which they gained their livelihood, and, in that diſtreſs, did not wiſh to ſurvive. Others, wild with affliction for their friends and relations whom they could not ſave, embraced a voluntary death, and periſhed in the flames. During the whole of this diſmal ſcene no man dared to attempt any thing that might check the violence of the dreadful calamity. A crew of incendiaries ſtood near at hand denouncing vengeance on all who offered to interfere. Some were ſo abandoned as to heap fuel on the flames. They threw in firebrands and flaming torches, proclaiming aloud, that they had authority for what they did. Whether, in fact, they had received ſuch horrible orders, or, under that device, meant to plunder with greater licentiouſneſs, cannot now be known.

XXXIX. DURING the whole of this terrible conflagration Nero

Nero remained at Antium, without a thought of returning to the city, till the fire approached the building by which he had communicated the gardens of Mæcenas *(a)* with the imperial palace. All help, however, was too late. The palace, the contiguous edifices, and every houſe adjoining, were laid in ruins. To relieve the unhappy people, wandering in diſtreſs without a place of ſhelter, he opened the field of Mars, as alſo the magnificent buildings raiſed by Agrippa *(b)*, and even his own imperial gardens *(c)*. He ordered a number of ſheds to be thrown up with all poſſible diſpatch, for the uſe of the populace. Houſehold utenſils and all kinds of neceſſary implements were brought from Oſtia, and other cities in the neighbourhood. The price of grain was reduced to three ſeſterces. For acts like theſe, munificent and well-timed, Nero might hope for a return of popular favour; but his expectations were in vain; no man was touched with gratitude. A report prevailed *(d)* that, while the city was in a blaze, Nero went to his own theatre, and there, mounting the ſtage, ſung the deſtruction of Troy, as a happy alluſion to the preſent misfortune.

XL. On the ſixth day the fire was ſubdued at the foot of mount Eſquiline. This was effected, by demoliſhing a number of buildings, and thereby leaving a void ſpace, where for want of materials the flame expired. The minds of men had ſcarce begun to recover from their conſternation, when the fire broke out a ſecond time with no leſs fury than before. This happened, however, in a more open quarter, where fewer lives were loſt; but the temples of the gods, the porticos, and buildings raiſed for the decoration of the city, were levelled to the ground. The popular odium was now more inflamed than ever, as this ſecond alarm began in the houſe of Tigellinus, formerly the manſion of Æmilius. A ſuſpicion prevailed, that to build a new city, and give it his own name, was the ambition of Nero. Of the four-

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teen quarters, into which Rome was divided, four only were left entire, three were reduced to aſhes, and the remaining ſeven preſented nothing better than a heap of ſhattered houſes, half in ruins.

XLI. The number of houſes, temples, and inſulated manſions deſtroyed by the fire cannot be aſcertained. But the moſt venerable monuments of antiquity, which the worſhip of ages had rendered ſacred, were laid in ruins: amongſt theſe were the temple dedicated to the moon by Servius Tullius; the fane and the great altar conſecrated by Evander, the Arcadian, to Hercules, his viſitor and his gueſt *(a)*; the chapel of Jupiter Stator *(b)*, built by Romulus; the palace of Numa, and the temple of Veſta *(c)*, with the tutelar gods of Rome. With theſe were conſumed the trophies of ſo many victories, the inimitable works of the Grecian artiſts, with the precious monuments of literature and ancient genius, all at preſent remembered by men advanced in years, but irrecoverably loſt. Not even the ſplendour, with which the new city roſe out of the ruins of the old, could compenſate for that lamented diſaſter. It did not eſcape obſervation, that the fire broke out on the fourteenth before the calends of July *(d)*, a day remarkable for the conflagration kindled by the Senones, when thoſe Barbarians took the city of Rome by ſtorm, and burnt it to the ground. Men of reflection, who refined on every thing with minute curioſity, calculated the number of years, months and days, from the foundation of Rome to the firing of it by the Gauls; and from that calamity to the preſent they found the interval of time preciſely the ſame.

XLII. Nero did not bluſh to convert to his own uſe the public ruins of his country. He built a magnificent palace *(a)*, in which the objects that excited admiration were neither gold

nor precious ſtones. Thoſe decorations, long ſince introduced by luxury, were grown ſtale, and hackneyed to the eye. A different ſpecies of magnificence was now conſulted: expanſive lakes and fields of vaſt extent were intermixed with pleaſing variety; woods and foreſts ſtretched to an immeaſurable length, preſenting gloom and ſolitude amidſt ſcenes of open ſpace, where the eye wandered with ſurpriſe over an unbounded proſpect. This prodigious plan was carried on under the direction of two ſurveyors, whoſe names were Severus and Celer. Bold and original in their projects, theſe men undertook to conquer nature, and to perform wonders even beyond the imagination and the riches of the prince. They promiſed to form a navigable canal from the lake Avernus *(b)* to the mouth of the Tiber. The experiment, like the genius of the men, was bold and grand; but it was to be carried over a long tract of barren land, and, in ſome places, through oppoſing mountains. The country round was parched and dry, without one humid ſpot, except the Pomptinian marſh *(c)*, from which water could be expected. A ſcheme ſo vaſt could not be accompliſhed without immoderate labour, and, if practicable, the end was in no proportion to the expence and labour. But the prodigious and almoſt impoſſible had charms for the enterpriſing ſpirit of Nero. He began to hew a paſſage through the hills that ſurround the lake Avernus, and ſome traces of his deluded hopes are viſible at this day.

XLIII. The ground, which, after marking out his own domain, Nero left to the public, was not laid out for the new city in a hurry and without judgment, as was the caſe after the irruption of the Gauls. A regular plan was formed; the ſtreets were made wide and long; the elevation *(a)* of the houſes was defined, with an open area before the doors, and porticos *(b)* to ſecure and adorn the front. The expence of the porticos Nero under-

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took to defray out of his own revenue. He promiſed, beſides, as ſoon as the work was finiſhed, to clear the ground, and leave a clear ſpace to every houſe, without any charge to the occupier. In order to excite a ſpirit of induſtry and emulation, he held forth rewards proportioned to the rank of each individual, provided the buildings were finiſhed in a limited time. The rubbiſh, by his order, was removed to the marſhes of Oſtia, and the ſhips that brought corn up the river were to return loaded with the refuſe of the workmen. Add to all this, the ſeveral houſes, built on a new principle, were to be raiſed to a certain elevation, without beams or wood work, on arches of ſtone from the quarries of *(c)* Alba or Gabii; thoſe materials being impervious, and of a nature to reſiſt the force of fire. The ſprings of water, which had been before that time intercepted by individuals for their ſeparate uſe, were no longer ſuffered to be diverted from their channel, but left to the care of commiſſioners, that the public might be properly ſupplied, and, in caſe of fire, have a reſervoir at hand to ſtop the progreſs of the miſchief.

It was alſo ſettled, that the houſes ſhould no longer be contiguous, with ſlight party-walls to divide them *(d)*; but every houſe was to ſtand detached, ſurrounded and inſulated by its own incloſure. Theſe regulations, it muſt be admitted, were of public utility, and added much to the embelliſhment of the new city. But ſtill the old plan of Rome was not without its advocates. It was thought more conducive to the health *(e)* of the inhabitants. The narrowneſs of the ſtreets and the elevation of the buildings ſerved to exclude the rays of the ſun; whereas the more open ſpace, having neither ſhade nor ſhelter, left men expoſed to the intenſe heat of the day.

XLIV. THESE ſeveral regulations were, no doubt, the beſt that

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that human wiſdom could ſuggeſt. The next care was to propitiate the gods. The Sibylline books were conſulted, and the conſequence was that ſupplications were decreed to Vulcan, to Ceres, and Proſerpine. A band of matrons offered their prayers and ſacrifices to Juno, firſt in the capitol, and next on the neareſt margin of the ſea, where they ſupplied themſelves with water, to ſprinkle the temple and the ſtatue of the goddeſs. A ſelect number of women, who had huſbands actually living, laid the deities on their ſacred beds *(a)*, and kept midnight vigils with the uſual ſolemnity. But neither theſe religious ceremonies, nor the liberal donations of the prince, could efface from the minds of men the prevailing opinion, that Rome was ſet on fire by his own orders. The infamy of that horrible tranſaction ſtill adhered to him. In order, if poſſible, to remove the imputation, he determined to transfer the guilt to others. For this purpoſe he puniſhed, with exquiſite torture, a race of men deteſted for their evil practices *(b)*, by vulgar appellation commonly called Chriſtians.

The name was derived from Chriſt, who, in the reign of Tiberius, ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judæa. By that event the ſect, of which he was the founder, received a blow, which, for a time, checked the growth of a dangerous ſuperſtition *(c)*; but it revived ſoon after, and ſpread with recruited vigour, not only in Judæa, the ſoil that gave it birth, but even in the city of Rome, the common ſink into which every thing infamous and abominable flows like a torrent from all quarters of the world. Nero proceeded with his uſual artifice. He found a ſet of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confeſs themſelves guilty, and, on the evidence of ſuch men, a number of Chriſtians were convicted, not, indeed, upon clear evidence of their having ſet the city on fire, but rather on account of their ſullen hatred of the whole human race *(d)*. They were put

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to death with exquiſite cruelty, and to their ſufferings Nero added mockery and deriſion. Some were covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the croſs; numbers were burnt alive; and many, covered over with inflammable matter, were lighted up, when the day declined, to ſerve as torches during the night *(e)*.

For the convenience of ſeeing this tragic ſpectacle, the emperor lent his own gardens. He added the ſports of the circus, and aſſiſted in perſon, ſometimes driving a curricle, and occaſionally mixing with the rabble in his coachman's dreſs. At length the cruelty of theſe proceedings filled every breaſt with compaſſion. Humanity relented in favour of the Chriſtians. The manners of that people were, no doubt, of a pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of juſtice: but it was evident, that they fell a ſacrifice, not for the public good, but to glut the rage and cruelty of one man only.

XLV. MEANWHILE, to ſupply the unbounded prodigality of the prince, all Italy was ravaged; the provinces were plundered; and the allies of Rome, with the ſeveral places that enjoyed the title of free cities, were put under contribution. The very gods were taxed. Their temples in the city were rifled of their treaſures, and heaps of maſſy gold, which, through a ſeries of ages, the virtue of the Roman people, either returning thanks for victories, or, performing their vows made in the hour of diſtreſs, had dedicated to religious uſes, were now produced to anſwer the demands of riot and extravagance. In Greece and Aſia rapacity was not content with ſeizing the votive offerings that adorned the temples, but even the very ſtatues of the gods were deemed lawful prey. To carry this impious robbery into execution, Acratus and Secundus Carinas were ſent with a ſpecial commiſſion; the former,

former, one of Nero's freedmen, of a genius ready for any black deſign; the latter, a man of literature, with the Greek philoſophy fluent in his mouth, and not one virtue at his heart. It was a report current at the time, that Seneca, wiſhing to throw from himſelf all reſponſibility for theſe impious acts, deſired leave to retire to ſome part of Italy. Not being able to ſucceed in his requeſt, he feigned a nervous diſorder, and never ſtirred out of his room. If credit be due to ſome writers, a doſe of poiſon was prepared for him by Cleonicus, one of his freedmen, by the inſtigation of Nero. The philoſopher, however, warned by the ſame ſervant, whoſe courage failed him, or, perhaps, ſhielded from danger by his own wary diſpoſition, eſcaped the ſnare. He lived at that very time on the moſt ſimple diet: wild apples, that grew in the woods, were his food; and water from the clear purling ſtream ſerved to quench his thirſt.

XLVI. About the ſame time a body of gladiators, detained in cuſtody at Prænefte *(a)*, made an attempt to recover their liberty. The military guard was called out, and the tumult died away. The incident, notwithſtanding, revived the memory of Spartacus *(b)*. The calamities, that followed the daring enterpriſe of that adventurer, became the general topic, and filled the minds of all with dreadful apprehenſions. Such is the genius of the populace, ever prone to ſudden innovations, yet terrified at the approach of danger. In a few days after, advice was received, that the fleet had ſuffered by a violent ſtorm. This was not an event of war, for there never was a period of ſuch profound tranquillity; but Nero had ordered the ſhips, on a ſtated day, to aſſemble on the coaſt of Campania. The dangers of the ſea never entered into his conſideration. His orders were peremptory. The pilots, to mark their zeal, ſet ſail in tempeſtuous weather from the port of Formia *(c)*. While they were endeavouring to

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double the cape of Miſenum, a ſquall of wind from the ſouth threw them on the coaſt of Cuma, where a number of the larger gallies, and almoſt all the ſmaller veſſels, were daſhed to pieces.

XLVII. TOWARDS the cloſe of the year omens and prodigies filled the minds of the people with apprehenſions of impending miſchief. Such dreadful peals of thunder were never known. A comet appeared, and that phænomenon was a certain prelude to ſome bloody act to be committed by Nero. Monſtrous births, ſuch as men and beaſts with double heads, were ſeen in the ſtreets and public ways; and in the midſt of ſacrifices, which required victims big with young, the like conceptions fell from the entrails of animals ſlain at the altar. In the territory of Placentia *(a)* a calf was dropped with its head growing at the extreme part of the leg. The conſtruction of the ſoothſayers was, that another head was preparing for the government of the world, but would prove weak, inſufficient, and be ſoon detected, like the monſtrous productions, which did not reſt concealed in the womb, but came before their time, and lay expoſed to public view near the high road.

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XLVIII. SILIUS NERVA and Atticus Veſtinus entered on their conſulſhip. In that juncture a deep conſpiracy was formed, and carried on with ſuch a ſpirit of enterpriſe, that in the moment of its birth it was almoſt ripe for execution. Senators, Roman knights, military men, and even women gave in their names with emulation, all incited by their zeal for Caius Piſo, and their deteſtation of Nero. Piſo was deſcended from the houſe of Calpurnius, by his paternal line related to the firſt families in Rome. His virtues, or his amiable qualities that reſembled virtues, made him the idol of the people. An orator of high diſtinction, he employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow citizens;

poſſeſſed of great wealth, he was generous to his friends; by nature courteous, he was affable and polite to all. To theſe accompliſhments he united a graceful figure and an engaging countenance. In his moral conduct neither ſtrict nor regular, he led a life of voluptuous eaſe, fond of pomp and ſplendour, and, at times, free and luxurious in his pleaſures. His irregularities ſerved to grace his character. At a time when vice had charms for all orders of men, it was not expected, that the ſovereign ſhould lead a life of auſterity and ſelf-denial.

XLIX. The conſpiracy did not originate from the ambition of Piſo. Among ſo many bold and generous ſpirits it is not eaſy to name the perſon who firſt ſet the whole in motion. Subrius Flavius, a tribune of the prætorian guards, and Sulpicius Aſper, were the active leaders. The firmneſs with which they afterwards met their fate ſufficiently marks their characters. Annæus Lucan, the celebrated poet, and Plautius Lateranus, conſul elect, entered into the plot with ardour and inflamed reſentment. Lucan had perſonal provocations: Nero was an enemy to his riſing fame: not being able to vie with that eminent genius, he ordered him not to make his verſes public, determined to ſilence what he vainly ſtrove to emulate. Lateranus brought with him no private animoſity: he acted on nobler principles; the love of his country inſpired him, and he knew no other motive. Flavius Scevinus and Afranius Quinctianus, both of ſenatorian rank, ſtood forward to guide the enterpriſe with a degree of ſpirit little expected from the tenour of their lives. Scevinus, addicted to his pleaſures, paſſed his days in luxury, ſloth, and languor. Quinctianus was decried for the effeminacy of his manners. Nero had lampooned him in a copy of defamatory verſes, and to revenge the injury Quinctianus became a patriot.

L. The

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L. The conſpirators had frequent meetings. They inveighed againſt the vices of Nero; they painted forth in glaring colours all his atrocious deeds, by which the empire was brought to the brink of ruin; they urged the neceſſity of chooſing a ſucceſſor equal to the taſk of reſtoring a diſtreſſed and tottering ſtate, and, in the interval, enliſted in their confederacy ſeveral Roman knights, namely, Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Feſtus, Senecio, the firſt in the liſt, had lived in the cloſeſt intimacy with the prince, and, being ſtill obliged to wear the maſk, he found the interval big with anxiety, miſtruſt, and danger. Antonius Natalis was the boſom-friend and confidential agent of Piſo: the reſt had their ſeparate views, and in a revolution hoped to find their private advantage. There were, beſides Subrius Flavius and Sulpicius Aſper already mentioned, a number of military men ready to draw their ſwords in the cauſe. In this claſs were Granius Silvanus and Statius Proximus, both tribunes of the prætorian bands; Maximus Scaurus and Venetus Paullus, two centurions. But the main ſtrength and pillar of the party was Fenius Rufus *(a)*, commander in chief of the Prætorian guards; a man of principle, and for the integrity of his conduct eſteemed and honoured by the people. But Tigellinus ſtood in higher favour with the prince, and by his cruel devices no leſs than by his taſte for riot and debauchery, ſo ingratiated himſelf, that he was able to ſupplant the prætorian præfect, and by ſecret accuſations to endanger his life. He repreſented him to Nero as the favoured lover of Agrippina *(b)*, ſtill cheriſhing a regard for her memory, and lying in wait for an opportunity to revenge her wrongs.

Rufus inclined to the diſcontented party, and, at length, declared

clared himſelf willing to aſſiſt their enterpriſe. Encouraged by this acceſſion of ſtrength, the conſpirators began to think of the deciſive blow, and to deliberate about the time and place. We are told that Subrius Flavius reſolved to take to himſelf the glory of the deed. Two different ſchemes occurred to him. One was, while the prince was ſinging on the ſtage, to diſpatch him in ſight of the whole theatre. His ſecond project was, while Nero was rambling abroad in his midnight frolics, to ſet fire to the palace, and, in the tumult, to take him by ſurpriſe, unattended by his guards. The laſt ſeemed to be the ſafeſt meaſure. The tyrant, unſeen and unaſſiſted, would fall a devoted victim, and die in ſolitude. On the other hand, the idea of a brave exploit, performed in the preſence of applauding numbers, fired the generous ardour of that heroic mind. But prudential conſiderations had too much weight. He wiſhed to gain immortal fame, and he thought of his own perſonal ſafety; a tame reflection, always adverſe to every great and noble enterpriſe.

LI. While the conſpirators lingered in ſuſpenſe, prolonging the awful period of their hopes and fears, a woman, of the name of Epicharis, appriſed of the plot (by what means is ſtill a myſtery), began to animate their drooping ſpirit, and to blame their cold delay. What made her conduct ſingular on this occaſion was, that, before this time, not one great or honourable ſentiment was ever known to have entered her heart. Seeing the buſineſs languiſh, ſhe retired in diſguſt, and went into Campania. But a ſpirit like hers could not be at reſt. She endeavoured to ſeduce the officers of the fleet then lying at Miſenum. She began her approaches to Voluſius Proculus, an officer who had under his command a thouſand marines. He was one of the aſſaſſins employed in the tragic cataſtrophe of Nero's mother. His reward, he thought, was in no proportion to the magnitude of the

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crime. Being known to Epicharis, or having then contracted a recent friendſhip, he began to diſcloſe the ſecrets of his heart. He enumerated his exploits in Nero's ſervice, and complained of the ingratitude with which he was ill requited; avowing, at the ſame time, a fixed reſolution to revenge himſelf, whenever an opportunity offered. The woman, from this diſcourſe, conceived hopes of gaining a proſelyte, and by his means a number of others. She ſaw that a revolt in the fleet would be of the greateſt moment. Nero was fond of ſailing parties on the coaſt of Miſenum and Puteoli, and would, by conſequence, put himſelf in the power of the mariners.

Epicharis entered into cloſe conference with Proculus; ſhe recapitulated the various acts of cruelty committed by Nero. The fathers, ſhe ſaid, had no doubt remaining; they were of one mind; all agreed, that a tyrant, who overturned the laws and conſtitution of his country, ought to fall a ſacrifice to an injured people. She added, that Proculus would do well to co-operate with the friends of liberty. If he kindled the ſame ſpirit in the minds of the ſoldiers, a ſure reward would wait him. In the fervour of her zeal, ſhe had the prudence to conceal the names of the conſpirators. That precaution ſerved to ſcreen her afterwards, when the marine officer turned informer, and betrayed the whole to Nero. She was cited to anſwer, and confronted with her accuſer; but the charge, reſting entirely on the evidence of one man, without a circumſtance to ſupport it, was eaſily eluded. Epicharis, notwithſtanding, was detained in cuſtody. Nero's ſuſpicions were not to be removed. The accuſation was deſtitute of proof, but he was not the leſs inclined to believe the worſt.

LII. The undaunted firmneſs of Epicharis did not quiet the apprehenſions of the conſpirators. Dreading a diſcovery, they deter-

determined to execute their purpoſe without delay. The place they fixed upon was a villa belonging to Piſo, in the neighbourhood of Baiæ, where the emperor, attracted by the beauties of that delightful ſpot, was uſed to enjoy the pleaſure of bathing, and his convivial parties, diveſted of his guards, and unincumbered by the parade of ſtate. Piſo objected to the meaſure. "What would the world ſay, if his table were imbrued with "blood, and the gods of hoſpitality violated by the murder of a "prince, however deteſted for his atrocious deeds? Rome was "the proper theatre for ſuch a cataſtrophe. The ſcene ſhould be "in his own palace, that haughty manſion built with the ſpoils "of plundered citizens. The blow for liberty would be ſtill "more noble before an aſſembly of the people. The actions of "men, who dared nobly for the public, ſhould be ſeen by the "public eye."

Such were the objections advanced by Piſo in the preſence of the conſpirators: in his heart he had other reaſons. He dreaded Lucius Silanus *(a)*, knowing his high deſcent, and the rare accompliſhments which he had acquired under the care of Caius Caſſius *(b)*, who had trained him from his youth, and formed his mind to every thing great and honourable. A man thus diſtinguiſhed might aſpire to the imperial dignity. All who ſtood aloof from the conſpiracy would be ready to ſecond his ambition, and, moſt probably, would be joined by others, whom the fate of a devoted prince, cut off by treachery, might touch with compaſſion. Piſo was ſuppoſed to have another ſecret motive: he knew the genius and the ardent ſpirit of Veſtinus, the conſul. A man of his character might think of reſtoring the old republic, or be for chooſing another emperor, to ſhew mankind that the ſovereign power was a gift to be diſpoſed of according to his will and pleaſure. Veſtinus, in fact, had no ſhare in the conſpiracy, though he was

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afterwards charged as an accomplice, and, under that pretence, doomed to death by the unappeaſable malice and the cruelty of Nero.

LIII. At length the conſpirators fixed their day. They choſe the time of the public games, which were ſoon to be performed in the circus, according to eſtabliſhed uſage, in honour of Ceres. During that feſtival, the emperor, who rarely ſhewed himſelf to the people, but remained ſequeſtered in his palace or his gardens, would not fail to attend his favourite diverſions; and, in that ſcene of gaiety, acceſs to his perſon would not be difficult. The aſſault was to be made in the following manner. Lateranus, a man of undaunted reſolution, and an athletic form, was to approach the prince, with an humble air of ſupplication, as if to entreat relief for himſelf and family; and, in the act of falling at his feet, to overthrow him by ſome ſudden exertion, and by his weight keep him ſtretched on the ground. In that condition the tribunes, the centurions, and the reſt of the conſpirators, as the opportunity offered, and as courage prompted, were to fall on, and ſacrifice their victim to the juſt reſentments of the people.

Scevinus claimed the honour of being the firſt to ſtrike. For this purpoſe, he had taken a dagger from the temple of Health, in Etruria, or, as ſome writers will have it, from the temple of Fortune, in the city of Ferentum. This inſtrument he carried conſtantly about him, as a ſacred weapon, dedicated to the cauſe of liberty. It was further ſettled, that, during the tumult, Piſo was to take his poſt in the temple of Ceres, and there remain till ſuch time as Fenius and his confederates ſhould call him forth, and conduct him to the camp. To conciliate the favour of the people, Antonia, the daughter of the late emperor, was to appear in the cavalcade.

This laſt circumſtance, ſince it is related by Pliny, muſt reſt upon his authority. If it came from a leſs reſpectable quarter, I ſhould not think myſelf at liberty to ſuppreſs it; but it may be proper to aſk, Is it probable that Antonia would hazard her reputation, and even her life, in a project ſo uncertain, and ſo big with danger? Is it probable that Piſo, diſtinguiſhed by his conjugal affection, could agree at once to abandon a wife whom he loved, and marry another to gratify his own wild ambition? But it may be ſaid, of all the paſſions that inflame the human mind, ambition is the moſt fierce and ardent, of power to extinguiſh every other ſentiment.

LIV. In a conſpiracy like the preſent, ſo widely diffuſed among perſons of different ages, rank, ſex, and condition, ſome of them poor, and others rich, it may well be matter of wonder, that nothing tranſpired, till the diſcovery burſt out at once from the houſe of Scevinus. This active partiſan, on the day preceding the intended execution of the plot, had a long conference with Antonius Natalis; after which he returned home, and, having ſealed his will, unſheathed his ſacred dagger, already mentioned. Finding it blunted by long diſuſe, he gave it to Milichus, his freedman, to be well whetted, and ſharpened at the point. In the mean time, he went to his meal, more ſumptuouſly ſerved than had been his cuſtom. To his favourite ſlaves he granted their freedom, and among the reſt diſtributed ſums of money. He affected an air of gaiety; he talked of indifferent things, with counterfeited cheerfulneſs; but a cloud hung over him, and too plainly ſhewed, that ſome grand deſign was labouring in his breaſt. He deſired the ſame Milichus to prepare bandages for the bracing of wounds, and applications to ſtop the effuſion of blood. If this man was, before that time, appriſed of the plot, he had till then acted with integrity; but the

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the more probable opinion is, that he was never truſted, and now from all the circumſtances drew his own concluſion.

The reward of treachery no ſooner preſented itſelf to the ſervile mind of an enfranchiſed ſlave, than he ſaw wealth and power inviting him to betray his maſter. The temptation was bright and dazzling; every principle gave way; the life of his patron was ſet at nought; and for the gift of freedom no ſenſe of gratitude remained. He adviſed with his wife, and female advice was the worſt he could take. The woman, with all the art and malice of her ſex, alarmed his fears. Other ſlaves, ſhe ſaid, and other freedmen had an eye on all that paſſed. The ſilence of one could be of no uſe. The whole would be brought to light; and he, who firſt made the diſcovery, would be entitled to the reward.

LV. At the dawn of day Milichus made the beſt of his way to the gardens of Servilius. Being refuſed admittance, he declared that he had buſineſs of the firſt importance, nothing leſs than the diſcovery of a dark and dangerous conſpiracy. The porter conducted him to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's freedmen, who introduced him to the preſence of his maſter. Milichus informed the emperor of his danger, and laid open the machinations of his enemies, with all that he knew and all that he conjectured. He produced the dagger, deſtined to give the mortal ſtab, and deſired to be confronted with the criminal.

Scevinus was ſeized by the ſoldiers, and dragged in cuſtody to anſwer the charge. "The dagger," he ſaid, "was a ſacred re-"lic, left to him by his anceſtors. He had preſerved it with "veneration, and kept it ſafe in his chamber, till the perfidy of "a ſlave ſurreptitiouſly conveyed it away. As to his will, he

" had often changed it, often ſigned and ſealed a new one, with-
" out any diſtinction of days. He had been always generous to
" his domeſtics; nor was it now for the firſt time that he had
" given freedom to ſome, and to others liberal donations. If in
" the laſt inſtance his bounty exceeded the former meaſure, the
" reaſon was, that being reduced in his circumſtances, and preſſed
" by his debts, he was afraid that his will would be declared void
" in favour of his creditors. With regard to his table, it was well
" known that his ſtyle of living had ever been elegant, and even
" profuſe, to a degree that drew upon him the cenſure of rigid
" moraliſts. To the preparation of bandages and ſtyptics he was
" an utter ſtranger. None were made by his order. The whole
" was the invention of a vile informer, who found himſelf deſti-
" tute of proof, and, to prop his infamous calumny, dared to
" fabricate a new charge, at once the author and the witneſs of
" a lie." This defence was uttered by Scevinus in a tone of firmneſs, and the intrepidity of his manner gave it ſtrength and credit. He pronounced the informer a notorious profligate, and, by conſequence, an incompetent witneſs. This he urged with ſuch an air of confidence, and with ſo much energy, that the information would have fallen to the ground, if the wife of Milichus had not obſerved, in the preſence of her huſband, that a long and ſecret interview had taken place between the priſoner and Natalis, both connected in the cloſeſt friendſhip with Caius Piſo.

LVI. NATALIS was cited to appear. Scevinus and he were examined apart, touching their late meeting. What was their buſineſs? and what was the converſation that paſſed between them? Their anſwers did not agree. Freſh ſuſpicions aroſe, and both were loaded with irons. At the ſight of the rack, their reſolution failed. Natalis was the firſt to confeſs the guilt. He knew all the particulars of the conſpiracy, and was, by conſe-

quence,

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quence, able to ſupport his information. He named Caius Piſo, and proceeded next to Seneca. He had, probably, been employed as a meſſenger between Seneca and Piſo; or, knowing the inveterate rancour with which Nero ſought the deſtruction of his tutor, he intended by that charge, however falſe, to make terms for himſelf. Scevinus, as ſoon as he heard that Natalis had made a diſcovery, ſaw the inutility of remaining ſilent. Thinking the whole conſpiracy detected, he yielded to his fears; and, following a mean example of puſillanimity, diſcovered his accomplices. Three of the number, namely, Lucan, Quinctianus, and Senecio, perſiſted for ſome time to deny the whole with undaunted firmneſs, till induced, at length, by a promiſe of pardon, they thought they could not do enough to atone for their obſtinacy. Lucan did not ſcruple to impeach *(a)* his own mother, whoſe name was Acilia. Quinctianus gave information againſt Glicius Gallus, his deareſt friend; and Senecio, in like manner, betrayed Annius Pollio.

LVII. NERO did not forget that Epicharis was ſtill detained in cuſtody, on the evidence of Voluſius Proculus. The weakneſs of a female frame, he imagined, would not be able to endure the pangs of the rack. He therefore ordered her to be put to the moſt exquiſite torture. But neither ſtripes, nor fire, nor the brutal rage of the executioners, who were determined not to be baffled by a woman, could ſubdue a mind like hers, firm, conſtant, and undaunted to the laſt. Not a word was extorted from her. Her miſery ended for that day. On the next, the ſame cruelty was prepared. Epicharis had no ſtrength left. Her limbs were rent and diſlocated. The executioners provided a chair to convey her to the place of torture. While they were conducting her, ſhe took from her breaſt the girdle that braced her garment, and, having faſtened one end of it to the top of the chair, made a nooſe

a nooſe for her neck, and, throwing herſelf from her ſeat, hung ſuſpended with the whole weight of her body. In her mangled condition the remains of life were ſoon extinguiſhed. BOOK XV. A. U. C. 818. A. D. 65.

Such was the fate of this magnanimous woman. She left behind her a glorious example of truth and conſtancy, the more ſtriking, as this generous part was acted by an enfranchiſed ſlave, to ſave the lives of men, in no degree related to her, and almoſt unknown. With heroic fortitude ſhe endured the worſt that malice could inflict, at a time when men of illuſtrious birth, when officers, Roman knights and ſenators, untried by the pangs of torture, betrayed, with a kind of emulation, their friends, their relations, and all that was dear to them. Quinctianus, Senecio, and even Lucan continued to give in the names of the conſpirators. Every new diſcovery filled Nero with conſternation, though he had doubled his guard and taken every precaution to ſecure his perſon.

LVIII. PARTIES of ſoldiers under arms were ſtationed in every quarter, on the walls of Rome, on the ſea-coaſt, and along the banks of the Tiber. The city preſented the appearance of a garriſoned town. The forum and the open ſquares were filled with cohorts of horſe and foot. The neighbouring villages and the country round were inveſted. Even private houſes were ſecured. The German ſoldiers, ordered out on duty, mixed with the reſt of the army. Being foreigners, Nero depended on their fidelity. The conſpirators were led forth in a long proceſſion to the tribunal of the prince. They ſtood in crowds at his garden-gate, waiting their turn to be ſummoned before him. In regular ſucceſſion they were admitted to an audience, and every trifle was magnified into a crime. A ſmile, a look, a whiſper, a caſual meeting at a convivial party, or a public ſhow, was evidence of

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treaſon. Nor was it ſufficient that Nero and Tigellinus were keen and vehement in their enquiries: Fenius Rufus took an active part. Having hitherto eſcaped detection, he thought that violence againſt his accomplices would be the beſt way to ſkreen himſelf. While he was eagerly preſſing them with queſtions, Subrius Flavius, the prætorian tribune, by ſigns and tokens, ſignified to him his intention to cut off the tyrant in the midſt of the examination. He had his hand on the hilt of his ſword, when Rufus checked the brave deſign.

LIX. On the firſt detection of the plot, while Milichus was giving his evidence, and Scevinus was ſtill wavering and irreſolute, ſome of the conſpirators exhorted Piſo to ſhew himſelf in the camp, or to mount the public roſtra, in order to gain the affections of the army and the people. "Let your friends," they ſaid, "aſſemble in a body; let them ſtand forth in your cauſe, "and they will be joined by numbers. The fame of an impend- "ing revolution would excite a general ſpirit; and fame in great "undertakings has been often known to decide the event. Nero "will be taken by ſurpriſe; on his part no meaſures are con- "certed. In ſudden commotions the braveſt are often ſtruck "with terror; and if courage may be thus overpowered, what "will be the caſe of a theatrical emperor, a ſcenic performer, a "vile comedian, aſſiſted by Tigellinus and his band of harlots? "In all great enterpriſes the attempt appears impracticable to little "minds; but the brave and valiant know that to dare is to "conquer. In a plot, in which numbers were embarked, the "ſilence of all could not be expected. The mind will waver, "and the body will ſhrink from pain. There is no ſecret ſo "deeply laid but bribery will draw it forth, or cruelty can ex- "tort it. The guards in a ſhort time might ſeize Piſo himſelf, "and drag him to an ignominious death. How much more glo-

"rious

" rious to fall bravely in the cauſe of liberty! to die ſword in " hand, vindicating the rights of freeborn men, and rouſing the " army and the people to their own juſt defence! The ſoldiers " may refuſe to join, and the people may be guilty of treachery " to themſelves; but, even in that caſe, how noble to cloſe the " ſcene with a ſpirit worthy of your anceſtors, bleſt with the " wiſhes of the preſent age and the applauſe of all poſterity!"

Theſe exhortations made no impreſſion on Piſo. He retired to his own houſe, and there fortified his mind againſt the worſt that could happen. A band of ſoldiers broke in upon him, all ſelected from the recruits lately raiſed, undiſciplined, and new to the ſervice, but preferred by Nero to the veterans, whom he ſuſpected of diſaffection. Piſo ordered the veins of both his arms to be opened, and expired: his will was a diſgrace to his memory. It was written in a ſtrain of fulſome flattery to the prince. He was betrayed into that act of meanneſs by his affection for his wife, a woman deſtitute of merit, who had great elegance of form, and nothing elſe to recommend her. Her name was Arria Galla. She had been married to Domitius Silius, and from him ſeduced by Piſo. The paſſive ſpirit of the injured huſband and the wanton character of the wife conſpired to fix an indelible ſtain on the name of Piſo.

LX. PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, conſul elect, was the next victim. He was ſeized, and dragged to inſtant death; no time allowed to take the laſt farewell of his children, nor even the uſual liberty of chooſing his own mode of dying. He was hurried to the place of execution uſually allotted to ſlaves, and there diſpatched by the hand of Statius, a military tribune. He met his fate with a noble and determined ſilence, not ſo much as con-

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deſcending to tax the executioner with his ſhare in the conſpiracy.

The next exploit of Nero was the death of Seneca. Againſt that eminent man no proof of guilt appeared; but the emperor thirſted for his blood, and what poiſon had not accompliſhed he was determined to finiſh by the ſword. Natalis was the only perſon who had mentioned his name. The chief head of his accuſation was, "That he himſelf had been ſent on a viſit to Seneca, then "confined by illneſs, with inſtructions to mention to him, that "Piſo often called at his houſe, but never could gain admittance, "though it was the intereſt of both to live on terms of mutual "friendſhip." To this Seneca made anſwer, "That private in-"terviews could be of no ſervice to either; but ſtill his happineſs "was grafted on the ſafety of Piſo." Granius Silvanus, a tribune of the prætorian guards, was diſpatched to Seneca, with directions to let him know what was alleged againſt him, and to enquire, whether he admitted the converſation ſtated by Natalis, with the anſwers given by himſelf. Seneca, by deſign or accident, was that very day on his return from Campania. He ſtopt at a villa of his own *(a)* about four miles from Rome. Towards the cloſe of day the tribune arrived, and beſet the houſe with a band of ſoldiers. Seneca was at ſupper with his wife Pompeia Paulina, and two of his friends, when Silvanus entered the room, and reported the orders of the emperor.

LXI. SENECA did not heſitate to acknowledge that Natalis had been at his houſe, with a complaint that Piſo's viſits were not received. His apology, he ſaid, imported no more than want of health, the love of eaſe, and the neceſſity of attending to a weak and crazy conſtitution. "That he ſhould prefer the "intereſt

"intereſt of a private citizen to his own ſafety, was too abſurd "to be believed. He had no motives to induce him to pay ſuch "a compliment to any man: adulation was no part of his cha- "racter. This is a truth well known to Nero himſelf: he can "tell you that, on various occaſions, he found in Seneca a man, "who ſpoke his mind with freedom, and diſdained the arts of "ſervile flattery." Silvanus returned to Rome. He found the prince in company with Poppæa and Tigellinus, who, as often as cruelty was in agitation, formed the cabinet-council. In their preſence the meſſenger reported his anſwer. Nero aſked, "Does "Seneca prepare to end his days by a voluntary death?" "He "ſhewed," ſaid the tribune, "no ſymptom of fear, no token of ſorrow, "no dejected paſſion: his words and looks beſpoke a mind ſerene, "erect and firm." "Return," ſaid Nero, "and tell him, he muſt "reſolve to die." Silvanus, according to the account of Fabius Ruſticus, choſe to go back by a different road. He went through a private way to Fenius Rufus, to adviſe with that officer, whether he ſhould execute the emperor's orders. Rufus told him that he muſt obey. Such was the degenerate ſpirit of the times. A general panic took poſſeſſion of every mind. This very Silvanus was one of the conſpirators, and yet was baſe enough to be an inſtrument of the cruelty which he had combined to revenge. He had, however, the decency to avoid the ſhock of ſeeing Seneca, and of delivering in perſon the fatal meſſage. He ſent a centurion to perform that office for him.

LXII. SENECA heard the meſſage with calm compoſure. He called for his will, and being deprived of that right of a Roman citizen by the centurion, he turned to his friends, and "You ſee," he ſaid, "that I am not at liberty to requite your ſervices with "the laſt marks of my eſteem. One thing, however, ſtill remains. "I leave you the example of my life, the beſt and moſt precious

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" legacy now in my power. Cheriſh it in your memory, and " you will gain at once the applauſe due to virtue, and the fame " of a ſincere and generous friendſhip." All who were preſent melted into tears. He endeavoured to aſſuage their ſorrows; he offered his advice with mild perſuaſion; he uſed the tone of authority. " Where," he ſaid, " are the precepts of philoſophy, " and where the words of wiſdom, which for years have taught " us to meet the calamities of life with firmneſs and a well pre- " pared ſpirit? Was the cruelty of Nero unknown to any of us? " He murdered his mother; he deſtroyed his brother; and, after " thoſe deeds of horror, what remains to fill the meaſure of his " guilt but the death of his guardian and his tutor?"

LXIII. HAVING delivered himſelf in theſe pathetic terms, he directed his attention to his wife. He claſped her in his arms, and in that fond embrace yielded for a while to the tenderneſs of his nature. Recovering his reſolution, he entreated her to appeaſe her grief, and bear in mind that his life was ſpent in a conſtant courſe of honour and of virtue. That conſideration would ſerve to heal affliction, and ſweeten all her ſorrows. Paulina was ſtill inconſolable. She was determined to die with her huſband; ſhe invoked the aid of the executioners, and begged to end her wretched being. Seneca ſaw that ſhe was animated by the love of glory, and that generous principle he thought ought not to be reſtrained. The idea of leaving a beloved object expoſed to the inſults of the world, and the malice of her enemies, pierced him to the quick. " It has been my care," he ſaid, " to " inſtruct you in that beſt philoſophy, the art of mitigating the " ills of life; but you prefer an honourable death. I will not " envy you the vaſt renown that muſt attend your fall. Since " you will have it ſo, we will die together. We will leave behind " us an example of equal conſtancy; but the glory will be all " your own."

Theſe words were no ſooner uttered, than the veins of both their arms were opened. At Seneca's time of life the blood was ſlow and languid. The decay of nature, and the impoveriſhing diet *(a)* to which he had uſed himſelf, left him in a feeble condition. He ordered the veſſels of his legs and joints to be punctured. After that operation, he began to labour with excruciating pains. Leſt his ſufferings ſhould overpower the conſtancy of his wife, or the ſight of her afflictions prove too much for his own ſenſibility, he perſuaded her to retire into another room. His eloquence ſtill continued to flow with its uſual purity. He called for his ſecretaries, and dictated, while life was ebbing away, that farewell diſcourſe, which has been publiſhed, and is in every body's hands. I will not injure his laſt words by giving the ſubſtance in another form.

LXIV. NERO had conceived no antipathy to Paulina. If ſhe periſhed with her huſband, he began to dread the public execration. That he might not multiply the horrors of his preſent cruelty, he ſent orders to exempt Paulina from the ſtroke of death. The ſlaves and freedmen, by the direction of the ſoldiers, bound up her arm, and ſtopped the effuſion of blood. This, it is ſaid, was done without her knowledge, as ſhe lay in a ſtate of languor. The fact, however, cannot be known with certainty. Vulgar malignity, which is ever ready to detract from exalted virtue, ſpread a report, that, as long as ſhe had reaſon to think that the rage of Nero was implacable, ſhe had the ambition to ſhare the glory of her huſband's fate; but a milder proſpect being unexpectedly preſented, the charms of life gained admiſſion to her heart, and triumphed over her conſtancy. She lived a few years longer, in fond regret, to the end of her days, revering the memory of her huſband. The weakneſs of her whole frame,

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and the ſickly languor of her countenance, plainly ſhewed that ſhe had been reduced to the laſt extremity.

Seneca lingered in pain. The approach of death was ſlow, and he wiſhed for his diſſolution. Fatigued with pain, worn out and exhauſted, he requeſted his friend, Statius Annæus, whoſe fidelity and medical ſkill he had often experienced, to adminiſter a draught of that ſwift-ſpeeding poiſon *(a)*, uſually given at Athens to the criminals adjudged to death. He ſwallowed the potion, but without any immediate effect. His limbs were chilled: the veſſels of his body were cloſed, and the ingredients, though keen and ſubtle, could not arreſt the principles of life. He deſired to be placed in a warm bath. Being conveyed according to his deſire, he ſprinkled his ſlaves with the water, and "Thus," he ſaid, "I MAKE LIBATION TO JUPITER THE DELIVERER." The vapour ſoon overpowered him, and he breathed his laſt. His body, without any funeral pomp, was committed to the flames. He had given directions for that purpoſe in his laſt will, made at a time when he was in the zenith of power, and even then looked forward to the cloſe of his days.

LXV. A REPORT was at that time current at Rome, that Subrius Flavius and ſeveral centurions held a private meeting, with the knowledge and conſent of Seneca, and there reſolved to open a new and unexpected ſcene. The blow for liberty was to be ſtruck in the name of Piſo, and as ſoon as the world was freed from the tyranny of Nero, Piſo was to be the next victim, in order to make way for Seneca, who, for his virtues, was to be raiſed to the higheſt elevation, with an air of innocence, and of a man unconſcious of the plot. The very words of Flavius were reported among the people. He is ſuppoſed to have ſaid, "What "good end will it anſwer to depoſe a MINSTREL, if we place a "TRA-

"TRAGEDIAN in his room?" The fact was, Nero played on his guitar, and Piſo trod the ſtage in the buſkin of tragedy.

LXVI. THE part, which the military men had taken in the conſpiracy, did not long remain a ſecret. The double game played by Fenius Rufus, at firſt a confederate in the plot, and then a judge pronouncing ſentence on his accomplices, provoked the indignation of all. In the examination of Scevinus that officer preſſed his interrogatories with over-acted zeal, and by menaces endeavoured to extort a confeſſion. Scevinus anſwered with a ſmile, "No man knows the particulars better than your-"ſelf. You now may ſhew your gratitude to ſo good a prince." Rufus was covered with confuſion. To ſpeak was not in his power, and to remain ſilent was dangerous. He trembled, faultered, and heſitated an anſwer. His embarraſſment betrayed his guilt. The reſt of the conſpirators, with Cervarius Proculus, a Roman knight, at their head, were eager to depoſe againſt him. At length a ſoldier of the name of Caſſius, remarkable for his robuſt ſtature, and for that reaſon ordered to attend, laid hold of Rufus by the emperor's order, and loaded him with irons.

LXVII. THE ſame witneſſes gave evidence againſt Subrius Flavius. In anſwer to the charge, he relied much on his courſe of life, and the diſſimilitude of manners between himſelf and his accuſers. "Was it probable that a ſoldier, inured to the profeſſion "of arms, would aſſociate with an effeminate ſet of men, ſtrang-"ers to danger and to manly enterpriſe!" Finding himſelf preſſed by the weight of evidence, he changed his tone, and with heroic fortitude avowed the part he had acted. Being aſked by Nero, what could induce him to forget the ſolemn obligation of his oath? "Becauſe," he ſaid, "I hated, I deteſted "you. There was a time when no ſoldier in your army was

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"more devoted to your ſervice, and that was as long as you "deſerved the eſteem of mankind. I began to hate you when "you was guilty of parricide; when you murdered your "mother, and deſtroyed your wife; when you became a coach-"man, a comedian, and an incendiary." I have given the very words of this intrepid conſpirator, becauſe they were not, like thoſe of Seneca, publiſhed to the world; and the rough ſentiments of a ſoldier, in his own plain, but vigorous language, merit the attention of poſterity.

In the whole diſcovery of the plot nothing made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of Nero. Though his heart never knew remorſe for the worſt of crimes, his ear, unaccuſtomed to the voice of truth, ſhrunk from the ſound of freedom, and ſtartled at reproach. Flavius was ordered for execution. Veianius Niger, one of the tribunes, led him to the next field, and there directed a trench to be opened. The priſoner ſurveyed the ſpot, and, finding it neither wide nor deep enough, turned with a ſmile to the ſoldiers, and "This," he ſaid, "ſhews no military ſkill." Niger deſired him to extend his neck with courage: "Strike," ſaid Flavius, "and prove your courage equal to mine." The tribune was ſeized with a tremor in every joint. He ſevered the head at two blows, and made a merit of it with Nero, giving the name of cruelty to his want of firmneſs. He made it his boaſt, that, by repeating the ſtroke, he made him die twice.

LXVIII. SULPICIUS ASPER, the centurion, gave the next example of magnanimity. Being aſked by Nero, why he conſpired againſt his life? he anſwered ſhortly, "I knew no other "relief from your flagitious deeds." He was inſtantly put to death. The reſt of the centurions underwent their fate, and all died worthy of their characters. Fenius Rufus had not equal conſtancy.

conſtancy. He betrayed an abject ſpirit, and even in his will was weak enough to bewail his unhappy fate. Nero lived in hopes of ſeeing Veſtinus, the conſul, charged as a criminal. He knew the character of the man; an intrepid daring ſpirit, ambitious, and ſuſpected of diſaffection. The conſpirators, however, had no communication of counſels with that active magiſtrate. Some declined him on account of former animoſities, and others, becauſe they thought him raſh and impetuous. Nero's rancour grew out of a cloſe and intimate friendſhip. In that familiar intercourſe Veſtinus ſaw into the very heart of the prince, and deſpiſed him for his vices. Nero ſhrunk from a man, who had the ſpirit to ſpeak his mind with freedom, and, in his ſarcaſtic vein, had often made the prince the ſubject of his raillery; and raillery, when ſeaſoned with truth, never fails to leave a ſting that feſters in the memory. A recent incident gave an edge to Nero's reſentment. Veſtinus married Statilia Meſſalina *(a)*, though he knew that the prince was one of her lovers.

LXIX. No witneſs appeared againſt Veſtinus; no crime was laid to his charge, and, by conſequence, no proceeding could be had in due form of law. But the will of the tyrant ſtill remained. He ſent Gerelanus, one of the tribunes, at the head of a cohort, with orders ſo to take his meaſures, that the conſul might not be able to ſtand on the defenſive, and, for that purpoſe, to inveſt his houſe, which, like a proud citadel, overlooked the forum, and contained a numerous train of young and hardy ſlaves, in the nature of a garriſon. Veſtinus had that very day diſcharged all the functions of his conſular office. He was at table with his friends, free from apprehenſion, or, it may be, affecting an air of gaiety, when the ſoldiers entered, and informed him that the tribune had important buſineſs with him. He roſe and left the room. The ſcene of death was inſtantly laid. He was ſhut up

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in a chamber; a phyſician attended; his veins were opened; he was conducted to a warm bath, and, being put into the water, expired without a complaint, and without a groan. His gueſts, in the mean time, remained in the banqueting room, impriſoned by the guards. It was late at night before they were releaſed. Nero heard the account with pleaſure. He ſaw, in the ſport of his imagination, a ſet of men aſſembled at a convivial party, and every moment expecting their final doom. He laughed at their diſtreſs, and ſaid facetiouſly, "They have paid for their conſular "ſupper."

LXX. LUCAN, the famous poet, was the next ſacrifice to the vengeance of Nero. His blood flowed freely from him, and being ſoon well nigh exhauſted, he perceived that the vital heat had left the extremities of his limbs. His hands and feet were chilled, but, the warmth retiring to his heart, he ſtill retained his ſenſes and the vigour of his mind. The lines in his poem, which deſcribe a ſoldier dying in the ſame condition *(a)*, occurred to his memory. He repeated the paſſage, and expired. His own verſes were the laſt words he uttered. Senecio, Quinctianus, and Scevinus, ſuffered in a ſhort time after. The diſſolute ſoftneſs of their lives did not diſgrace them in their end. They met their fate with reſolution. The reſt of the conſpirators were led to execution. In their deaths there was nothing that merits particular notice.

LXXI. WHILE the city preſented a ſcene of blood, and funerals darkened all the ſtreets, the altars of the capitol ſmoked with victims ſlaughtered on the occaſion. One had loſt a ſon; another was deprived of his brother, his friend, or his near relation; and yet, ſtifling every ſentiment of the heart, all concurred in offering thanks to the gods; they adorned the prince's houſe with

with laurel *(a)*; they fell at the tyrant's feet; they claſped his knees, and printed kiſſes on his hand. Nero received this vile adulation as the token of real joy. In order to make ſure of the people, he ſhewed his clemency to Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus, whoſe merit conſiſted altogether in their treachery to their friends. To Milichus he granted a rich and ample recompenſe, and moreover added the honourable appellation of a Greek name, importing the CONSERVATOR. Granius Silvanus, one of the tribunes engaged in the conſpiracy, received a free pardon; but, diſdaining to enjoy it, he died by his own hand. Statius Proximus had the vanity to follow his example. Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, and Statius Domitius were all degraded from their tribunitian rank, not as men condemned, but ſuſpected of diſaffection. Novius Priſcus, Glitius Gallus, and Annius Pollio were ordered into exile; the firſt on account of his known intimacy with Seneca; and the two laſt, to diſgrace them, though not convicted of any crime. Antonia Flaccilla, the wife of Novius Priſcus, followed her huſband into baniſhment. Egnatia Maximilla, at that time poſſeſſed of great wealth, had the ſpirit, in like manner, to adhere to Glitius Gallus. Her fortune was ſoon after taken from her by the hand of power. Her conduct, both in affluence and poverty, did honour to her character.

Rufius Criſpinus was likewiſe baniſhed: the conſpiracy furniſhed a pretext, but his having been married to Poppæa was the crime that brought on his ruin. Verginius *(b)* and Muſonius Rufus *(c)* owed their baniſhment to the celebrity of their names: the former trained the Roman youth to eloquence, and the latter formed their minds by his lectures on wiſdom and philoſophy. At one ſweep, Cluvidienus Quietus, Julius Agrippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Priſcus, and Julius Altinus, like a colony of

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criminals, were ſent to iſlands in the Ægean ſea. Cadicia, the wife of Scevinus, and Cæſonius Maximus were ordered out of Italy, without being heard in their defence. The ſentence of condemnation was the firſt notice of any crime alleged againſt them. Acilia, the mother of Lucan, was neither pardoned, nor condemned. She was ſuffered to live in ſilent obſcurity.

LXXII. HAVING performed theſe dreadful exploits, Nero called an aſſembly of the ſoldiers, and, after a ſpecious harangue, ordered a largeſs of a thouſand ſeſterces to be paid to each man, and the corn, which they had been uſed to purchaſe at the market-price, to be diſtributed as the bounty of the prince. He then ordered the ſenate to be convened, with as much importance as if the events of war and ſplendid victories occaſioned the meeting. He granted triumphal ornaments to Petronius Turpilianus *(a)*, of conſular rank, to Cocceius Nerva *(b)*, prætor elect, and Tigellinus, commander of the prætorian guards. The two laſt were mentioned by him in ſtrains of the higheſt commendation. Not content with erecting their ſtatues in the forum, adorned with triumphal decorations, he placed them alſo in the imperial palace. Nymphidius *(c)* was honoured with the enſigns of conſular dignity Of this man, who now occurs for the firſt time, ſince he is to figure hereafter on the ſtage of public buſineſs, it may be proper in this place to ſay a few words.

He was the ſon of an enfranchiſed female ſlave, diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, and the eaſe with which ſhe granted her favours to the ſlaves as well as the freedmen about the court. Nymphidius, however, pretended to be of higher origin. He called himſelf the ſon of Caligula. His large ſtature, and the ſtern caſt of his countenance, bore ſome reſemblance to that emperor; and, in fact, as Caligula was never delicate in the choice of his miſ-

treſſes, but was known to ſhare the embraces of common harlots, it is poſſible that he might, on ſome occaſion, indulge his paſſion with the mother of Nymphidius.

LXXIII. THE ſenate being aſſembled, Nero delivered a ſpeech on the ſubject of the late tranſactions, and, for the information of the people, iſſued a proclamation, with a ſtatement of the evidence againſt the conſpirators, and their own confeſſion. The clamours of the public made this expedient neceſſary. While the executions were going on, the public voice was loud and violent againſt Nero, the inſatiate tyrant, who was daily ſacrificing to his cruelty, or his fears, the lives of innocent and illuſtrious men. That a plot was actually formed; that it was conducted with reſolution, and in the end was totally defeated, no man, who made it his buſineſs to inveſtigate the truth, entertained a doubt at the time; and ſince the death of Nero, the acknowledgment of all, who returned from baniſhment, eſtabliſhed the fact beyond a controverſy. Nero was received by the ſenate with the baſeſt flattery. In that aſſembly, the men, who had the greateſt reaſon to be overwhelmed with grief, were the moſt forward to offer incenſe to the emperor. Junius Gallio *(a)*, the brother of Seneca, was, by the loſs of that excellent man, ſo ſtruck with terror, that to ſave his own life he deſcended to humble ſupplications. Salienus Clemens roſe to oppoſe him, as a parricide and an enemy to the ſtate. He continued his invective till the fathers checked his violence. It was not now, they ſaid, a time to gratify perſonal animoſity, under an appearance of zeal for the public good; nor would it become any man to open again the wounds which the clemency of the prince had cloſed for ever.

LXXIV. OBLATIONS and public thankſgivings were decreed to all the gods, and particularly to the Sun, in whoſe temple, ſituated

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ſituated in the forum, the murder was to have been perpetrated, if that god had not diſpelled the clouds that hung over the machinations of evil minded men, and brought their dark proceedings into open day-light. It was further ordered, that the ſports of the circus, in honour of Ceres, ſhould be celebrated with an additional number of chariot-races; that the month of April *(a)* ſhould be ſtyled after the name of Nero; and that, on the ſpot, where Scevinus furniſhed himſelf with a dagger, a temple ſhould be erected to the GODDESS OF SAFETY. The dagger itſelf was dedicated in the capitol, with an inſcription to the avenging god, called JUPITER VINDEX. The inſcription, at that time, had no equivocal meaning; but ſoon after, when JULIUS VINDEX *(b)* excited a revolt in Gaul, it was conſidered as an omen of impending vengeance.

In the journals of the ſenate I find an entry, by which it appears, that Cerealis Anicius, conſul elect, moved in his place, that a temple ſhould be raiſed, at the public expence, to the DEIFIED NERO, who, in his opinion, had riſen above the condition of human nature, and was, therefore, entitled to religious worſhip. This motion was afterwards underſtood to portend nothing leſs than the death of Nero; ſince it was a ſettled rule, that divine honours ſhould never be paid to the emperor, till he ceaſed to be mortal *(c)*.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XVI.

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it were beſt for him to attend the ſenate. Different opinions on the ſubject. XXVII. *The ſenate-houſe ſurrounded with guards.* XXVIII. *Bitter ſpeech of Eprius Marcellus againſt Thraſea.* XXX. *Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, involved in the ſame danger with her father. Her noble defence. Both condemned, as alſo Thraſea. The choice of their death left to themſelves. Helvidius Priſcus baniſhed out of Italy. Montanus charged with writing a ſatirical poem againſt Nero; he is pardoned, but never to exerciſe any public office. The three accuſers, Eprius Marcellus, Coſſutianus, and Oſtorius Sabinus amply rewarded.* XXXIV. *A quæſtor ſent to ſee Thraſea finiſh his days. The remarkable behaviour of Thraſea, and his noble advice to the quæſtor.*—The reſt of this book is loſt.

Theſe tranſactions paſſed, partly in the former conſulſhip, and in the following year.

Years of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls
818	65	*Silius Nerva, Atticus Veſtrinus.*
819	66	*Caius Suetonius Paulinus, Caius Lucius Teleſinus.*

THE

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK XVI.

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1. NERO, in conſequence of his own credulity, became in a ſhort time afterwards the ſport of fortune, and a ſubject of public deriſion. He believed the viſionary ſchemes of Ceſellius Baſſus, a native of Carthage, of a crazed imagination, who relied on whatever occurred to him in his diſtempered dreams. This man arrived at Rome, and, by the influence of money well applied, gained admiſſion to the preſence of the emperor. The ſecret, which he had to communicate, was, that on his own eſtate he had found a cavern of aſtoniſhing depth, in which were contained immenſe ſtores of gold, not wrought into the form of coin, but in rude and ſhapeleſs ingots, ſuch as were in uſe in the early ages of the world. In one part of the cave were

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were to be ſeen vaſt maſſy heaps, and in other places columns of gold towering to a prodigious height; the whole an immenſe treaſure, reſerved in obſcurity to add to the ſplendour of Nero's reign. To give probability to his ſtory, he pretended, that Dido, the Phænician *(a)*, when ſhe fled from Tyre, and founded the city of Carthage, depoſited her whole ſtock in the bowels of the earth, that ſo much wealth might neither prove the bane of a new colony, nor excite the avarice of the Numidian princes *(b)*, of themſelves already hoſtile to her infant ſtate.

II. NERO neither weighed the character of the man, nor the circumſtances of ſo wild a report. He had not even the precaution to ſend commiſſioners to inform themſelves on the ſpot. He helped to ſpread the report; he began to count his riches, and diſpatched his agents to tranſport the treaſure to Rome. The light galleys were equipped with expedition, and a choſen band of mariners ſent on board. Rome, in the mean time, was diſtracted with hope and fear, with doubt and expectation. No other ſubject was talked of. The common people, with their uſual facility, believed every thing; while men of reflection argued in a different manner. It happened that the quinquennial games *(a)* were to cloſe the ſecond luſtre of five years. During that feſtival, the expected treaſure was the ſubject on which the orators expatiated, and the poets exhauſted their invention. In their flights of fancy, the earth was no longer content with pouring forth fruit and grain, and producing metals intermixed with veins of precious ore; the preſent fecundity ſhewed that the gods were working miracles to bleſs the reign of Nero. Theſe were the bright conceits, which flattery diſplayed with rapture, and eloquence adorned with her richeſt colouring. While the paſſions of Nero ſtood ready to receive every new device, fiction

paſſed for truth, and nothing was too hyperbolical for the credulity of the prince.

III. With ſuch immoderate riches in view, no wonder that Nero launched out into greater profuſion than ever. Deluded by his hopes, and ſure of a ſupply for years to come, he exhauſted his treaſury *(a)*, and began to anticipate his imaginary funds. He made aſſignments on the property, and granted with generoſity what was not in his poſſeſſion. The expectation of enormous wealth made him the bubble of a madman, and impoveriſhed the public. In the mean time Baſſus, the grand projector, arrived at Carthage. In the preſence of a number of ſoldiers, and a large body of peaſants employed as labourers, he dug up his grounds, and made his experiment in the adjacent fields, diſappointed in one place, ſure of ſucceſs in another, ſtill confident, and ſtill miſcarrying; till at length, finding no ſubterraneous cave, and weary of the fruitleſs ſearch, he abandoned his chimerical hopes, coming gradually to his ſenſes, yet wondering, that, of all his dreams, the laſt ſhould be the only one that deceived him. Covered with ſhame, and dreading the reſentment of the emperor, he delivered himſelf from all his troubles by a voluntary death. According to ſome writers, he was inſtantly ſeized, and loaded with irons, till Nero ordered him to be releaſed, but ſeized his effects, determined to enjoy the fortunes of a wild adventurer, ſince he could not obtain the wealth of Dido.

IV. The time of contending for the prizes in the quinquennial games being near at hand, the ſenate, with intent to ward off from the emperor *(a)* the diſgrace of being a candidate, offered to adjudge, in his favour, the victory in ſong, and the crown of eloquence. The fathers hoped, that honours freely granted

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granted would ſatisfy the prince, and prevent a ridiculous diſplay of theatrical talents. Nero returned for anſwer, that he ſtood in no need of favour or protection. He depended on himſelf alone, and would fairly enter the liſts with his competitors. The equity of the judges was to decide, and by that teſt he was willing to ſtand or fall. With that ſpirit he entered the ſcene, and recited a poem of his own compoſition. The people, with earneſt entreaty, prayed that he would let them taſte the ſupreme delight of hearing and enjoying all his divine accompliſhments. Such was the language of the populace. In compliance with their wiſhes, he mounted the public ſtage, conforming in all things to the rules of the orcheſtra, where no performer was to ſit down, nor to wipe the ſweat from his face with any thing but his own garment, and never to ſpit or clear his noſtrils in ſight of the audience. Having exhibited his ſkill, he went down on his knee, and ſtretching forth his hands with pretended agitations of hope and fear, waited in that humble poſture for the deciſion of the judges. The populace, accuſtomed to applaud the notes and geſticulations of the common players, paid their tribute of admiration to the prince, with meaſured cadence, in one regular chorus of applauſe. You would have thought their joy ſincere, and, perhaps, it was ſo in fact: the rabble wiſhed to be diverted at any rate, and for the diſgrace that befel the ſtate vulgar minds felt no concern.

V. THINKING men were affected in a very different manner. All who came from the municipal towns, or the more remote parts of Italy, where ſome tincture of ancient manners ſtill remained; and a conſiderable number, beſides, who arrived from the provinces on public buſineſs, or their own private affairs, as yet ſtrangers to vice, and undebauched by luxury, beheld the ſcene with heavineſs of heart. A ſpectacle, in which the prince expoſed

expoſed his frivolous talents, gave them the higheſt diſguſt. They thought the applauſe diſhoneſt, but they were obliged to concur with the reſt. They acted their part with warm, but aukward zeal. Their unpractiſed hands were eaſily tired; they were not able to keep time in the grand concert, and, exerting themſelves without ſkill, they diſturbed the general harmony. For every blunder they were chaſtiſed by the ſoldiers, who were ſtationed at their poſts, with orders to take care, that the applauſe ſhould be kept up with ſpirit, without an interval of reſt, or ſilence. It is a certain fact, that ſeveral Roman knights, endeavouring to make their way through the crowd, were cruſhed to death in the narrow paſſes *(a)*; and that others, who kept their ſeats in the theatre day and night, fell dangerouſly ill. The dread of being abſent from ſuch a performance was more alarming than the worſt ſickneſs that could happen. Beſides the ſoldiers ſtationed in the theatre to ſuperintend the audience, it is well known that a number of ſpies lay in ambuſh, to take down the names of the ſpectators, to watch their countenances, and note every ſymptom of diſguſt or pleaſure. Offenders of mean condition were puniſhed on the ſpot. Men of diſtinction were overlooked with an air of calm neglect, but reſentment was only ſmothered for a time, to break out afterwards with deadly hate. We are told, that Veſpaſian, for the crime of being ready to fall aſleep, was obliged to endure the inſulting language of one Phœbus, an imperial freedman, and was ſaved from harſher treatment by the interceſſion of men of rank and influence. The offence, however, was not entirely forgotten; it remained in ſtore for future vengeance; but Veſpaſian was reſerved, by his ſuperior deſtiny, for the higheſt elevation.

VI. The public games were followed by the death of Poppæa *(a)*. She died of a kick on her womb, which Nero gave her

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her in a ſudden paſſion, though ſhe was then advanced in her pregnancy. Some writers will have it that ſhe was carried off by a doſe of poiſon; but they aſſert it with more ſpleen than truth. Nero was deſirous of having iſſue, and he loved his wife with ſincere affection. Her body was not, according to the Roman cuſtom *(b)*, committed to the funeral pile, but, after the manner of the eaſtern kings, embalmed with precious ſpices *(c)*, and depoſited in the monument of the Julian family. The ceremony was performed with great pomp, and Nero pronounced the funeral oration. He was laviſh in praiſe of her beauty; and the peculiar happineſs of being the mother of an infant *(d)* enrolled among the gods, was a topic on which he dwelt with pleaſure. By enlarging on that and other accidental circumſtances, he made a panegyric, in which not one virtue could find a place.

VII. The death of Poppæa occaſioned a general face of mourning, but no real grief. Men remembered her looſe incontinence, and, having felt her cruelty, rejoiced in ſecret at an event that freed the world from a woman of a deteſted character. Nero laboured under a load of reproach, and the public reſentment roſe ſtill higher, when it was known that, by his orders, Caſſius did not attend the funeral. That illuſtrious Roman underſtood the imperial mandate as the ſignal of his approaching ruin. In fact, his doom was fixed in a ſhort time after, and Silanus was devoted with him. The crime of Caſſius *(a)* was the ſplendid fortune which he inherited from his anceſtors, and the auſterity of his manners. Silanus offended by the nobility of his birth, and his modeſt merit. Nero ſent a letter to the ſenate, ſtating in ſtrong terms the neceſſity of removing them both from all civil offices. To Caſſius he objected, that, among the images of his anceſtors he preſerved, with veneration, the picture of the famous Caius Caſſius, with this inſcription: THE

LEADER

LEADER OF THE PARTY. That circumſtance plainly ſhewed the ſullen ſpirit of a man brooding miſchief; a fierce republican, who meditated another civil war, and a revolt from the houſe of Cæſar. But to revive the name of a daring factious chief was not ſufficient for the purpoſes of a turbulent incendiary: he was charged with ſeducing Lucius Silanus, a youth deſcended from an illuſtrious line, bold, ambitious, enterpriſing, and in the hands of ill deſigning men a fit tool to ſpread the flame of rebellion.

VIII. SILANUS *(a)* was no leſs an object of Nero's hatred. It was urged againſt him, as had been formerly done in the caſe of his uncle Torquatus, that he affected the ſtyle of imperial dignity, and had in his houſehold train his mock-treaſurers, his auditors of accounts, and his ſecretaries of ſtate. Nothing could be more deſtitute of all foundation. Silanus ſaw the tyranny of thoſe diſaſtrous times, and from the fate of his uncle received a leſſon of prudence. Lepida *(b)*, the wife of Caſſius, and aunt of Silanus, was alſo doomed to fall a ſacrifice to the unrelenting fury of the prince. Informers were ſuborned to accuſe her of inceſt with her nephew; and, to ſwell the charge, they imputed to her impious ſacrifices, magic rites, and horrible incantations. Vulcatius Tullinus, and Marcellus Cornelius *(c)*, of ſenatorian rank, with Calpurnius Fabatus, a Roman knight, were involved in the proſecution. They appealed to the tribunal of the emperor, and, by removing the cauſe, prevented a final ſentence. Nero was, at that time, brooding over crimes of the deepeſt dye, and having nobler game in view, he diſdained to ſtoop to an inferior quarry. The three laſt were ſaved by their want of importance.

IX. CASSIUS and Silanus were baniſhed by a decree of the ſenate. The caſe of Lepida was referred to the prince. Caſſius, in a ſhort time after, was tranſported to the iſland of Sardinia,

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where Nero was content to leave him to old age and the decay of nature. Silanus was conveyed to Oſtia, there, as was pretended, to embark for the iſle of Naxos. He never reached that place. Barium *(a)*, a municipal city of Apulia, was the laſt ſtage of his journey. He there ſupported life with a temper that gave dignity to undeſerved misfortune, till a centurion, employed to commit the murder, ruſhed upon him abruptly. That officer adviſed him to open his veins. "Death," ſaid Silanus, "has been familiar to my thoughts, but the honour of "preſcribing to me I ſhall not allow to a ruffian and a murderer." The centurion, ſeeing that he had to do with a man, unarmed indeed, but robuſt and vigorous, not a ſymptom of fear in his countenance, but, on the contrary, an eye that ſparkled with indignation, gave orders to his ſoldiers to ſeize their priſoner. Silanus ſtood on the defenſive: what man could do without a weapon he bravely dared, ſtruggling, and dealing his blows about him, till he fell by the ſword of the centurion, like a gallant officer, receiving honourable wounds, and facing his enemy to the laſt.

X. Lucius Vetus, and Sextia his mother-in-law, with Pollutia his daughter, died with equal fortitude. Nero thought them a living reproach to himſelf for the murder of Rubellius Plautus *(a)*, the ſon-in-law of Lucius Vetus. The root of bitterneſs rankled in Nero's heart, till Fortunatus, one of the manumitted ſlaves of Vetus, gave him an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the whole family. The freedman had been employed by Vetus in the management of his affairs, and having defrauded his maſter, he thought it time to add treachery to peculation, and give evidence againſt his patron. In this black deſign he aſſociated with himſelf one Claudius Demianus, a fellow of an abandoned character, who had been charged in Aſia, while

Vetus was proconſul of the province, with various crimes, and ſent to Rome in fetters. To forward the proſecution, Nero ſet him at liberty.

Vetus heard, with indignation, that the evidence of a freedman was received againſt the life of his patron, and retired to his country-ſeat in the neighbourhood of Formiæ. A band of ſoldiers followed him, and beſet his houſe. His daughter was then with him. A ſenſe of former injuries was ſtill freſh in her mind. She had ſeen her huſband, Rubellius Plautus, maſſacred by a band of ruffians. Upon that occaſion ſhe oppoſed her perſon to the aſſaſſins ſtroke: ſhe clung to her huſband's bleeding neck, and preſerved the garment ſtained with his blood. From that time nothing could aſſuage her ſorrows: ſhe remained a widow, a prey to grief, inconſolable, loathing all food, except what was neceſſary for the ſupport of nature. In the preſent diſtreſs, by her father's advice, ſhe ſet off for Naples, where Nero then reſided. Not being admitted to his preſence, ſhe watched the palace-gates, and, as ſoon as he came forth, ſhe cried aloud, "Hear my fa-" ther, hear an innocent man; he was your colleague *(b)* in the " conſulſhip; extend your mercy, nor let him fall a ſacrifice to " the pernicious arts of a vile abandoned ſlave." She perſiſted, as often as Nero paſſed, to renew her application, ſometimes in tears and miſery of heart; often in a tone of vehemence, rouſed by her ſufferings above the weakneſs of her ſex. But neither tears nor reproaches had any effect on the cruelty of Nero: inſenſible to both, and heedleſs of the popular hatred, he remained obdurate and implacable.

XI. POLLUTIA returned to her father, and, ſince not a ray of hope was left, exhorted him to meet his fate with a becoming ſpirit. Intelligence arrived at the ſame time, that preparations for

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for the trial were going on with rapidity, and that the ſenate ſhewed a diſpoſition to pronounce the ſevereſt ſentence. Among the friends of Caſſius ſome were of opinion, that the ſureſt way to ſecure part of his fortune for his grand-children, would be by making the emperor heir in chief. He rejected that advice as unworthy of his character. Having lived his days with a ſpirit of independance, he reſolved to die with honour. He diſtributed the money then in his poſſeſſion among his ſlaves, and ordered them to remove for their own uſe all the effects that could be carried off, with an exception of three couches, to ſerve as funeral beds for himſelf and his family.

They retired to die together. In the ſame chamber, and with the ſame inſtrument, the father, the mother-in-law, and the daughter opened their veins, and, without any other covering, than ſuch as decency required, were conducted to a warm bath; the father with his eyes fixed upon his daughter; the grandmother gazing on the ſame object; and ſhe, in return, looking with tender affection on both her parents; each of them wiſhing to avoid the pain of ſeeing the others in the pangs of death, and praying to be releaſed. Nature purſued her own courſe. They died in the order of their reſpective ages, the oldeſt firſt. After their deceaſe, a proſecution was carried on in due form of law, and all three were adjudged to capital puniſhment. Nero ſo far oppoſed the ſentence, as to give them the liberty of chooſing their mode of dying. When the tragedy was already performed, ſuch was the farce that followed.

XII. PUBLIUS GALLUS, a Roman knight, for no other crime than his intimacy with Fenius Rufus *(a)*, and ſome connection with Vetus, was interdicted from fire and water. The freedman of Vetus, who betrayed his maſter, and the accuſer, who

who undertook the conduct of the proſecution, obtained, to reward their villany, a ſeat in the theatre among the officers who follow in the train of the tribunes. The month of April was already ſtyled by the name of Nero *(b)*, and, in like manner, May was changed to that of Claudius, and June to Germanicus. Cornelius Orfitus was the author of this innovation. His reaſon for the laſt was, becauſe the two Torquati *(c)* ſuffered in the month of June, and that inauſpicious name ought, therefore, to be aboliſhed from the calendar.

XIII. To the blood and horror, that made this year for ever memorable, we may add the vengeance of Heaven, declared in ſtorms and tempeſts, and epidemic diſorders. A violent hurricane made the country of Campania a ſcene of deſolation; whole villages were overthrown; plantations were torn up by the roots, and the hopes of the year deſtroyed. The fury of the ſtorm was felt in the neighbourhood of Rome, where, without any apparent cauſe in the atmoſphere, a contagious diſtemper broke out, and ſwept away a vaſt number of the inhabitants. The houſes were filled with dead bodies, and the ſtreets with funeral proceſſions. Neither ſex nor age eſcaped. Slaves and men of ingenuous birth were carried off, without diſtinction, amidſt the ſhrieks and lamentations of their wives and children. Numbers, while they aſſiſted their expiring friends, or bewailed their loſs, were ſuddenly ſeized, and burnt on the ſame funeral pile. The Roman knights and ſenators ſuffered the common lot of mortality; but death delivered them from the power of the tyrant, and, for that reaſon, they were not regretted.

In the courſe of the year new levies were made in Narbon Gaul, and likewiſe in Aſia and Africa, in order to recruit the legions in Illyricum, at that time much reduced by the diſcharge of

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of ſuch as by age or infirmity were rendered unfit for ſervice. The city of Lyons having before this time ſuffered a dreadful diſaſter *(a)*, Nero, to relieve the inhabitants, ordered a remittance of forty thouſand ſeſterces, being the amount of what that city granted *(b)* to the treaſury of Rome in a period of diſtraction and public diſtreſs.

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XIV. CAIUS SUETONIUS and Lucius Teleſinus entered on the conſulſhip. During their adminiſtration, Antiſtius Soſianus, formerly baniſhed *(a)*, as has been mentioned, for a ſatirical poem againſt Nero, began to think of regaining his liberty. He heard of the high eſtimation in which informers were held at Rome, and the bias of Nero's nature to acts of cruelty. A bold and reſtleſs ſpirit like his was ready for any project, and he poſſeſſed a promptitude of mind that quickly ſaw how to ſeize his opportunity. There was, at that time, an exile in the ſame place, famous for his ſkill in the arts of Chaldean aſtrology, and, on that account, intimate with ſeveral families. His name was Pammenes. Antiſtius entered into a league of friendſhip with him. Their mutual ſufferings endeared them to each other. The aſtrologer had frequent conſultations, and meſſengers were every day crowding to his houſe. Antiſtius judged that ſuch a concourſe could not be without reaſons of important conſequence. He found that Pammenes received an annual penſion from Anteius; a man, on account of his attachment to Agrippina, obnoxious to the emperor, and by his riches likely to tempt the avarice of a prince, who had already cut off ſome of the moſt opulent and illuſtrious men in Rome.

Antiſtius kept a watchful eye upon his new friend. He intercepted letters from Anteius, and gained acceſs to other ſecret papers, in which was contained a calculation of the nativity of Anteius,

Anteius, with many particulars relating to the birth and future fortune of Oſtorius Scapula *(b)*. Armed with theſe materials, he repreſented, by letters to Nero, that he had diſcoveries of the firſt importance, involving even the ſafety of the prince, and, if he might reviſit Rome for a few days, the whole ſhould be brought to light, with all the machinations of Anteius and Oſtorius Scapula, who, beyond all doubt, were engaged in a treaſonable deſign, and had been prying into their own deſtiny, and that of the imperial houſe. In conſequence of theſe letters, a light galley was diſpatched, and Antiſtius was conveyed to Rome. His arrival, and the buſineſs on which he came, were no ſooner known, than Anteius and Oſtorius were conſidered as devoted victims, inſomuch that the former could not find a friend bold enough to be a witneſs to his will *(c)*, till Tigellinus adviſed him to ſettle his affairs without loſs of time. Anteius ſwallowed a doſe of poiſon; but finding the operation ſlow and tedious, he opened his veins, and put a period to his exiſtence.

XV. OSTORIUS, at this time, was at a diſtance from Rome, amuſing himſelf on his own eſtate near the confines of Liguria. A centurion was ſent with orders to diſpatch him. Nero had his reaſons for deſiring this buſineſs to be done with expedition. He knew the military character of Oſtorius, and the high reputation, with which he had gained the civic crown in Britain *(a)*. He dreaded a man renowned in arms, remarkable for his bodily vigour, and a thorough maſter of the art of war. From a general of his experience he lived in fear of a ſudden attack, and the late conſpiracy kept him in a conſtant alarm. The centurion obeyed his orders, and having firſt ſecured all the avenues round the houſe, communicated the emperor's orders. Oſtorius turned againſt himſelf that courage which had often made the enemy fly before him. He opened his veins, but, though the inciſion

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was large, the blood flowed with languor. He called a ſlave to his aſſiſtance, and having directed him to hold a poniard with a firm and ſteady hand, he laid hold of the man's arm, and applying his throat to the point, ruſhed on certain death.

XVI. If the narrative, in which I am engaged, preſented a detail of foreign wars, and a regiſter of men, who died with honour in the ſervice of their country, even in that caſe, a continued train of diaſters, crowding faſt upon one another, would fatigue the writer, and make the reader turn, with diſguſt, from ſo many tragic iſſues, honourable indeed, but dark, melancholy, and too much of a colour. How much more muſt the uniformity of the preſent ſubject be found irkſome, and even repulſive! We have nothing before us but tame ſervility, and a deluge of blood ſpilt by a tyrant in the hour of peace. The heart recoils from the diſmal ſtory. But let it be remembered by thoſe, who may hereafter think theſe events worthy of their notice, that I have diſcharged the duty of an hiſtorian, and if, in relating the fate of ſo many eminent citizens, who reſigned their lives to the will of one man, I mingle tears with indignation, let me be allowed to feel for the unhappy. The truth is, the wrath of Heaven was bent againſt the Roman ſtate. The calamities that followed cannot, like the ſlaughter of an army, or the ſacking of a city, be painted forth in one general draught. Repeated murders muſt be given in ſucceſſion; and, if the remains of illuſtrious men are diſtinguiſhed by their funeral obſequies from the maſs of the people, may it not be conſidered as a tribute due to their memory, that, in like manner, their deaths ſhould be ſnatched from oblivion, and that hiſtory, in deſcribing the laſt act of their lives, ſhould give to each his diſtinct and proper character, for the information of poſterity?

XVII. I PRO-

XVII. I PROCEED to add to the liſt of murdered citizens, Annæus Mela, Cerealis Anicius, Ruſius Criſpinus, and Petronius. In the compaſs of a few days they were all cut off, as it were at one blow. Mela and Criſpinus were no higher than Roman knights; but in fame and dignity of character equal to the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſenators. Criſpinus, at one time, commanded the prætorian bands; he was afterwards inveſted with the conſular ornaments, but lately charged as an accomplice in the conſpiracy, and baniſhed to the iſland of Sardinia *(a)*. At that place he received the emperor's mandate, and died by his own hand. Mela *(b)* was brother to Seneca and Gallio. He abſtained through life from the purſuit of civil honours, vainly flattering himſelf, that a ſimple knight could riſe to the higheſt ſplendour, and tower above the conſular dignity. By remaining in his rank, he was qualified to act in the adminiſtration of the imperial revenue, and that employment he thought the ſhorteſt road to immoderate riches. He was the father of Lucan, the poet, and from ſuch a ſon *(c)* derived additional luſtre. When Lucan was no more, Mela endeavoured to recover the whole of his property *(d)*; but proceeding with too much eagerneſs, he provoked the enmity of Fabius Romanus, one of the poet's intimate friends. This man framed a charge againſt the father. He accuſed him of being engaged with his ſon in the late conſpiracy, and, for that purpoſe, forged ſeveral letters in the name of Lucan.

Nero was eager to ſeize his prey: he panted for his riches, and with that view ſent the letters as evidence of his guilt. Mela had recourſe to the mode of death, at that time deemed the eaſieſt, and, for that reaſon, moſt in vogue. He opened his veins, and expired. By his will he bequeathed a large ſum to Tigellinus, and to his ſon-in-law, Coſſutianus Capito, hoping by that bequeſt to ſecure the remainder for his family. A clauſe, it has been

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ſaid, was added to the will, aſſerting the innocence of the deceaſed, and the flagrant injuſtice of cutting him off, while ſuch men as Rufius Criſpinus and Anicius Cerealis were ſuffered to live in ſecurity, though they were both envenomed enemies of the prince. The clauſe, however, was thought to be fabricated, with a view to juſtify the murder of Criſpinus, which was already perpetrated, and to haſten the ſentence then in agitation againſt Cerealis, who, in a few days afterwards, diſpatched himſelf. He fell unlamented. The public remembered that he formerly diſcovered a conſpiracy *(e)* to Caligula, and, for that reaſon, no man regretted him in his end.

XVIII. With regard to Caius Petronius *(a)*, his character, his courſe of life, and the ſingularity of his manners ſeem to merit particular attention. He paſſed his days in ſleep, and his nights in buſineſs, or in joy and revelry. Indolence was at once his paſſion, and his road to fame. What others did by vigour and induſtry, he accompliſhed by his love of pleaſure and luxurious eaſe. Unlike the men who profeſs to underſtand ſocial enjoyment, and ruin their fortunes, he led a life of expence, without profuſion; an epicure, yet not a prodigal; addicted to his appetites, but with taſte and judgment; a refined and elegant voluptuary. Gay and airy in his converſation, he charmed by a certain graceful negligence, the more engaging as it flowed from the natural frankneſs of his diſpoſition. With all this delicacy, and careleſs eaſe, he ſhewed, when he was governor of Bithynia, and, afterwards, in the year of his conſulſhip, that vigour of mind and ſoftneſs of manners may well unite in the ſame perſon. With his love of ſenſuality he poſſeſſed talents for buſineſs. From his public ſtation he returned to his uſual gratifications, fond of vice, or of pleaſures that bordered upon it. His gaiety recommended him to the notice of the prince. Being

in favour at court, and cheriſhed as the companion of Nero in all his ſelect parties, he was allowed to be the arbiter of taſte and elegance. Without the ſanction of Petronius nothing was exquiſite, nothing rare or delicious.

Hence the jealouſy of Tigellinus, who dreaded a rival, in the good graces of the emperor almoſt his equal; in the ſcience of luxury his ſuperior. Tigellinus determined to work his downfall; and, accordingly, addreſſed himſelf to the cruelty of the prince; that maſter-paſſion, to which all other affections and every motive were ſure to give way. He charged Petronius with having lived in cloſe intimacy with Scevinus *(b)*, the conſpirator; and, to give colour to that aſſertion, he bribed a ſlave to turn informer againſt his maſter. The reſt of the domeſtics were loaded with irons. Nor was Petronius ſuffered to make his defence.

XIX. NERO, at that time, happened to be on one of his excurſions into Campania. Petronius had followed him as far as Cuma, but was not allowed to proceed further than that place. He ſcorned to linger in doubt and fear, and yet was not in a hurry to leave a world which he loved. He opened his veins, and cloſed them again, at intervals loſing a ſmall quantity of blood, then binding up the orifice, as his own inclination prompted. He converſed during the whole time with his uſual gaiety, never changing his habitual manner, nor talking ſentences to ſhew his contempt of death. He liſtened to his friends, who endeavoured to entertain him, not with grave diſcourſes on the immortality of the ſoul, or the moral wiſdom of philoſophers, but with ſtrains of poetry, and verſes of a gay and natural turn. He diſtributed preſents to ſome of his ſervants, and ordered others to be chaſtiſed. He walked out for his amuſement, and even lay down to ſleep.

In

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In this laſt ſcene of his life he acted with ſuch calm tranquillity, that his death, though an act of neceſſity, ſeemed no more than the decline of nature. In his will he ſcorned to follow the example of others, who, like himſelf, died under the tyrant's ſtroke: he neither flattered the emperor, nor Tigellinus, nor any of the creatures of the court; but having written, under the fictitious names of profligate men and women, a narrative of Nero's debauchery, and his new modes of vice *(a)*, he had the ſpirit to ſend to the emperor that ſatirical romance, ſealed with his own ſeal, which he took care to break, that, after his death, it might not be uſed for the deſtruction of any perſon whatever.

XX. NERO ſaw, with ſurpriſe, his clandeſtine paſſions, and the ſecrets of his midnight revels, laid open to the world. To whom the diſcovery was to be imputed ſtill remained a doubt. Amidſt his conjectures, Silia, who by her marriage with a ſenator had riſen into notice, occurred to his memory. This woman had often procured for the libidinous pleaſures of the prince, and lived, beſides, in cloſe intimacy with Petronius. Nero concluded that ſhe had betrayed him, and for that offence ordered her into baniſhment. Having made that ſacrifice to his own reſentment, he gave another victim to glut the rage of Tigellinus, namely, Numicius Thermus, a man of prætorian rank. An accuſation preferred againſt the favourite, by a ſlave enfranchiſed by Thermus, was the cauſe that provoked the vengeance of Tigellinus. For that daring attempt againſt a man in power the informer ſuffered on the rack, and his patron, who had no concern in the buſineſs, was put to death.

XXI. NERO had not yet ſatiated his vindictive fury. He had ſpilt the beſt blood in Rome, and now, in the perſons of Pætus Thraſea and Bareas Soranus, he hoped to deſtroy virtue itſelf.

itſelf. His rancour to thoſe two illuſtrious citizens had been long working in his heart. Thraſea, in particular, was the devoted object, and various motives conſpired againſt him. When the buſineſs of Agrippina *(a)* was brought before the ſenate, it will be in the memory of the reader, that Thraſea withdrew from the debate. Afterwards, in the youthful ſports, called JUVENALES, he ſeldom attended, and never with the alacrity which was expected. This cold indifference was the more grating to the prince, as Thraſea, at Padua, his native city, not only aſſiſted at the games of the CESTUS, originally inſtituted by Antenor, the fugitive from Troy, but alſo performed in the habit of a tragedian. It was further remembered, that, when Antiſtius, the prætor, was in danger of being capitally condemned for his verſes levelled at Nero, Thraſea was the author of a milder ſentence *(b)*. There was ſtill another circumſtance: when divine honours were decreed to Poppæa, he wilfully abſented himſelf, nor did he afterwards attend her funeral. Theſe offences were not ſuffered to ſink into oblivion. The whole was treaſured up by Coſſutianus Capito *(c)*, a man, who to a bad heart and talents for every ſpecies of iniquity united motives of perſonal ill-will to Thraſea, which he nouriſhed in ſecret, ever ſince the victory obtained over him in a charge of extortion conducted by the deputies from Cilicia, and ſupported with all the credit and eloquence of Thraſea.

XXII. THE fertile genius of the proſecutor was not at a loſs for new allegations. The heads of his charge were, "That "Thraſea made it a point to avoid renewing the oath of fidelity "uſual at the beginning of the year *(a)*, and, though a member "of the quindecemviral college, he never aſſiſted at the cere-"mony of offering vows for the ſafety of the prince, and the "preſervation of that melodious voice. A magiſtrate formerly

"of

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" of unremitting aſſiduity, he took a part in every debate, ſup-
" porting or oppoſing the moſt trifling motions; and now what
" is his conduct? For three years together he has not ſo much
" as entered the ſenate *(b)*. Even on a late occaſion, when the
" buſineſs relating to Silanus and Vetus drew the fathers to a
" crowded meeting, Thraſea was not at leiſure; the affairs of
" his clients engroſſed his attention, and the patriot was detained
" from the ſenate by his own petty concerns. What is this but
" a public receſſion! He is at the head of a faction, and if his
" partiſans take fire from his example, a civil war muſt be the
" conſequence. Cæſar and Cato were the names that formerly
" kept the world awake; at preſent, in a city ever rent by diſ-
" cord, Nero and Thraſea engage the public mind.

" The popular demagogue has his ſectaries and his followers;
" a ſet of men not yet, like their maſter, ambitiouſly ſententious,
" but, in imitation of his mien and manners, ſullen, gloomy, and
" diſcontented. By the formalities of their rigid diſcipline they
" hope to throw diſgrace on the gay and elegant manners of their
" ſovereign. Your preſervation, Nero, is of no moment to
" Thraſea: he diſregards your ſafety; he deſpiſes your accom-
" pliſhments. Are your affairs in a train of proſperity? he is
" ſtill dejected. Has any untoward event diſturbed your peace
" of mind? he enjoys your diſtreſs, and in ſecret pampers him-
" ſelf with your affliction. The ſame ſpirit, that refuſed to
" ſwear on the acts of Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus, denies the di-
" vinity of Poppæa. He turns religion to a jeſt, and ſets the
" laws at defiance. The journals of the Roman people *(c)* were
" never read by the provinces and the armies with ſo much avi-
" dity, as in the preſent juncture; and the reaſon is, the hiſtory
" of the times is the hiſtory of Thraſea's contumacy.

" If

"If the ſyſtem of this wiſe philoſopher and profound politician merits attention, let us, at once, embrace his doctrine; if otherwiſe, let us take from the friends of innovation their leader and their oracle. The ſect, whoſe precepts he affects to admire, has ever been proud and dogmatical, buſy, bold, and turbulent. It was that ſtoic ſchool that formed the Tuberos *(d)* and the Favonii; names deteſted even by the old republic. And what is now the principle of the whole faction? To ſubvert the fabric of a great empire they hold forth the name of liberty; if they ſucceed, they will deſtroy even liberty itſelf. Of what uſe can it be to Nero, that he has baniſhed a Caſſius, if the followers of Brutus are ſtill allowed to flouriſh, and multiply their numbers? Upon the whole, you have no occaſion, Cæſar, to write to the ſenate; you need not mention Thraſea to that aſſembly: leave him to our management, and the judgment of the fathers." Nero praiſed the zeal of Coſſutianus, and added fury to a mind already bent on miſchief. To forward his villany, he gave him for a coadjutor Eprius Marcellus, an orator of a turbulent ſpirit and overbearing eloquence.

XXIII. The proſecution againſt Bareas Soranus was already in the hands of Oſtorius Sabinus, a Roman knight. Soranus was returned from his proconſular government of Aſia. His conduct in the province ſtood diſtinguiſhed by juſtice and the rectitude of his meaſures; but by the jealouſy of Nero the virtues of the miniſter were converted into crimes. He had opened the port of Epheſus, and left unpuniſhed the obſtinate reſiſtance of the people of Pergamus, who refuſed to let Acratus *(a)*, one of the emperor's freedmen, carry off the ſtatues and pictures that adorned their city. This meritorious conduct was an offence not to be forgiven; but conſtructive crimes were to be held forth to the public. The heads of the accuſation were, that Soranus had

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contracted a close and intimate friendship with Plautus *(b)*, and had endeavoured by popular arts to incite the eastern provinces to a revolt. To decide the fate of two upright citizens, Nero chose a juncture favourable to his dark design. Tiridates was on his way to Rome, to receive the diadem of Armenia from the hands of the emperor. He thought it probable, that, in the splendour of that magnificent scene, the horrors of domestic cruelty would be lost: perhaps, it seemed a fair opportunity to display to a foreign prince the grandeur of a Roman emperor, and convince him, by the murder of two eminent citizens, that the imperial power was nothing short of oriental despotism.

XXIV. The city went forth in crowds to meet the emperor *(a)*, and gaze at the eastern monarch. Thrasea received orders not to appear on the occasion. A mind like his was not to be disconcerted. With his usual fortitude he sent a memorial to the prince, requesting to know by what act of his life he had deserved such a mark of displeasure. He pledged himself, if a fair hearing were granted, to confute his enemies, and place his innocence in the clearest light. Nero received the memorial with eager curiosity, expecting to find that Thrasea, under the operation of fear, had descended to the language of flattery, and tarnished his own honour by magnifying the glory of the prince. Stung by disappointment, he refused to grant an audience. The sight of that illustrious citizen, the countenance, the spirit, and the virtue of the man, were too much to encounter. He ordered the senate to be convened. Thrasea, in the mean time, consulted with his friends, which would be most advisable, to enter at large into his defence, or to behave with silent indignation. They were divided in their opinions.

XXV. Some advised him to enter the senate, and confront his

his enemies in the preſence of that aſſembly. "Of his conſtancy "no doubt could be entertained; they knew that nothing could "fall from him unworthy of himſelf. Every word from his lips "would tend to augment his glory. When danger threatened, "to take ſhelter in the ſhade of obſcurity, were the act of a de- "generate ſpirit. For him, he ought to have the people round "him to behold the ſcene; a great man advancing bravely to "meet his fate, would be a ſpectacle worthy of their applauſe. "The ſenate would hear with aſtoniſhment the energy of truth, "and the ſublime of virtue. Every ſentiment from the mouth "of Thraſea would riſe ſuperior to humanity, and ſound to the "fathers as if ſome god addreſſed them. Even the heart of "Nero might for once relent. Should it happen otherwiſe; "ſhould his obdurate nature ſtill perſiſt, poſterity would crown "with immortal glory the undaunted citizen, who diſtinguiſhed "himſelf from thoſe unhappy victims, who bowed their necks "to the tyrant's ſtroke, and crept in ſilence to their graves."

XXVI. OTHERS were of a different opinion, convinced that his beſt plan would be to wait the iſſue at his own houſe. They ſpoke of Thraſea himſelf and the dignity of his character in the higheſt terms, but they dreaded that his adverſaries would pour forth a torrent of inſolence and opprobrious language. "They "deſired that he would not ſuffer his ear to be wounded with "ſcurrility and vile abuſe. Coſſutianus and Eprius Marcellus "were not the only enemies of virtue: there were others, whoſe "brutal rage might incite them to outrage, and even violence to "his perſon. The cruelty of Nero left none at liberty. In a "general panic good men might follow the worſt example. It "would become the character of Thraſea to reſcue from infamy "that auguſt aſſembly, which his preſence had ſo long adorned. "If he did not attend the meeting, the part, which, after hearing

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"Thraſea in his own defence, the fathers might have acted, will "remain problematical; and by that uncertainty the honour of "the ſenate may be ſaved. To hope that Nero would bluſh for "his crimes, were to miſunderſtand his character. His unrelenting "cruelty would moſt probably fall on Thraſea's wife, on his "whole family, and all that were dear to him. For theſe reaſons, an eminent citizen, who had ever ſupported the honour "of his name, and ſtill flouriſhed with unblemiſhed integrity, "would do well to remember who were the teachers of wiſdom, "that furniſhed the principles and the model of his conduct. "Since he had crowded into his life all their virtues, it would become him to emulate their glory in his fall."

Arulenus Ruſticus *(a)* aſſiſted at this conſultation. He was, at that time, a tribune of the people; a young man of ſentiment, eager to be in action, and warm with the love of glory. He offered to interpoſe, by his tribunitian authority, to prevent a decree of the ſenate. "Forbear," ſaid Thraſea, "and learn, "young man, to reſtrain this impetuous ardour. By a raſh oppoſition you cannot ſave your friend, and you may bring down "ruin on yourſelf. For me, I have lived my days; my courſe "is well nigh finiſhed; it now remains, that I reach the goal "with undiminiſhed honour. As to you, my friend, you have "but lately entered the career of civil dignities. Life is before "you, and you have not as yet pledged yourſelf to the public. "Ere you take a decided part, it will behove you to conſider "well the times upon which you are fallen, and the principles "which you mean to avow." Having thus declared his ſentiments, he gave no opinion concerning the propriety of appearing in the ſenate, but reſerved the queſtion for his own private meditation.

XXVII. On

XXVII. On the following day two prætorian cohorts, under arms, ſurrounded the temple of Venus. A body of citizens, with ſwords ill concealed beneath their gowns, inveſted all the avenues. In the forum, the open ſquares, and round the adjoining temples, bands of ſoldiers took their ſtation, and through that military array the ſenators were obliged to paſs, ſurrounded by ſoldiers and prætorian guards. The aſſembly was opened by Nero's quæſtor *(a)*, with a ſpeech in the name of the prince, complaining, "That the fathers" (no particular name was mentioned) "de- "ſerted the public intereſt, and by their example taught the "Roman knights to loiter away their time in ſloth, and inatten- "tion to the welfare of the ſtate. Nor could it be matter of "wonder, that the ſenators from the diſtant provinces no longer "attended their duty, when men of conſular rank, and even of "ſacerdotal dignity, thought of nothing but the embelliſhment "of their villas, and the beauty of their gardens and pleaſure- "grounds." This meſſage was intended to be a weapon in the hands of the accuſers, and their malice knew how to uſe it.

XXVIII. Cossutianus took the lead. Eprius Marcellus followed him, with more force and acrimony. "The common- "wealth," he ſaid, "is on the brink of ruin. Certain turbulent "ſpirits rear their creſt ſo high, that no room is left for the "milder virtues of the prince. The ſenate for ſome time paſt "has been negligent, tame, and paſſive. Your lenity, conſcript "fathers, your lenity has given encouragement to ſedition. It "is in conſequence of your indulgence that Thraſea preſumes "to trample on the laws; that his ſon-in-law, Helvidius Priſ- "cus *(a)*, adopts the ſame pernicious principles; that Paconius "Agrippinus *(b)*, with the inveterate hatred towards the houſe "of Cæſar, which he inherits from his father, declares open "hoſtility; and that Curtius Montanus *(c)*, in ſeditious verſes,

"ſpreads

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" ſpreads abroad the venom of his pen. Where is Thraſea now? " I want to ſee the man of conſular rank in his place; I want to " ſee the ſacerdotal dignitary offering up vows for the emperor; " I want to ſee the citizen taking the oaths of fidelity. Perhaps " that haughty ſpirit towers above the laws and the religion of " our anceſtors; perhaps he means to throw off the maſk, and " own himſelf a traitor and an enemy to his country. Let him " appear in this aſſembly; let the patriot come; let the leader " of faction ſhew himſelf; the man who ſo often played the " orator in this aſſembly, and took under his patronage the inve- " terate enemies of the prince. Let us hear his plan of govern- " ment: what does he wiſh to change? What abuſes does he " mean to reform? If he came every day with objections, the " cavilling ſpirit of the man might teaſe, perplex, and embarraſs " us; but now his ſullen ſilence is worſe; it condemns every " thing in the groſs. And why all this diſcontent? A ſettled " peace prevails in every quarter of the empire: does that afflict " him? Our armies, without the effuſion of Roman blood, have " been victorious: is that the cauſe of his diſaffection? He " ſickens in the midſt of proſperity; he repines at the flouriſhing " ſtate of his country; he deſerts the forum; he avoids the " theatre, and the temples of the city; he threatens to abjure " his country, and retire into voluntary baniſhment; he acknow- " ledges none of your laws; your decrees are to him no better " than mockery; he owns no magiſtrates, and Rome to him is " no longer Rome. Let him therefore be cut off at once from a " city, where he has long lived an alien; the love of his country " baniſhed from his heart, and the people odious to his ſight."

XXIX. MARCELLUS delivered this invective in a ſtrain of vehemence, that gave additional terror to the natural ferocity of a ſtern and ſavage countenance. His voice grew louder,

his features more enlarged, and his eyes flaſhed with fire. The ſenate heard him, but with emotions unfelt before: the ſettled melancholy, which that black period made habitual, gave way to ſtronger feelings. They ſaw a band of ſoldiers round them, and they debated in the midſt of ſwords and javelins. Thraſea was abſent, but the venerable figure of the man preſented itſelf to every imagination. They felt for Helvidius Priſcus, who was doomed to ſuffer, not for imputed guilt, but becauſe he was allied to an innocent and virtuous citizen. What was the crime of Agrippinus? The misfortunes of his father, cut off by the cruelty of Tiberius, roſe in judgment againſt the ſon. The caſe of Montanus *(a)* was thought hard and oppreſſive. His poetry was a proof of genius, not of malice; and yet, for a pretended libel on the prince, a youth of expectation was to be driven from his country.

XXX. Amidst the tumult and diſtraction which this buſineſs excited, Oſtorius Sabinus, the accuſer of Bareas Soranus, entered the ſenate. He opened at once, and charged as a crime, the friendſhip that ſubſiſted between Soranus and Rubellius Plautus. He added, that the whole tenour of his adminiſtration in Aſia was directed, not for the public good, but to promote his own popularity, and to ſpread a ſpirit of ſedition through the provinces. Theſe accuſations had been long ſince fabricated, and were then grown threadbare; but the proſecutor was ready with a new allegation, which involved Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, in her father's danger. The charge againſt her was, that ſhe had diſtributed ſums of money among men ſkilled in judicial aſtrology. The fact was, Servilia, with no other motives than thoſe of filial piety, had the imprudence, natural at her time of life, to apply to a ſet of fortune-tellers, in order to ſatisfy her mind about the fate of her family, and to learn whether Nero's

reſentment

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reſentment was by any poſſibility to be appeaſed, and what would be the iſſue of the buſineſs in the ſenate.

She was cited to appear in the ſenate before the tribunal of the conſuls. On one ſide ſtood the aged father; on the other his daughter, in the bloom of life, not having yet completed her twentieth year, but even then in a ſtate of deſtitution, ſtill lamenting the fate of her huſband, Annius Pollio, lately torn from her, and condemned to baniſhment. She ſtood in ſilent ſorrow, not daring to lift her eyes to her father, whom by her imprudent zeal ſhe had involved in new misfortunes.

XXXI. The accuſer preſſed her with queſtions. He deſired to know, whether ſhe had not ſold her bridal ornaments, her jewels and her necklace, to ſupply herſelf with money for magic ſacrifices? She fell proſtrate on the ground, and wept in bitterneſs of heart. Her ſorrows were too big for utterance. She embraced the altars, and riſing ſuddenly, exclaimed with vehemence, "I have invoked no infernal gods; I have uſed no "unhallowed rites, no magic, no incantations. My unhappy "prayers aſked no more than that you, Cæſar, and you, con-"ſcript fathers, would extend your protection to this beſt of "men, this moſt affectionate parent. For him I ſold my jewels; "for him I diſpoſed of my bridal ornaments, and for him I "gave up the garments ſuited to my rank. In the ſame cauſe "I was willing to ſacrifice my life: the blood in my veins was "at his ſervice. The men whom I conſulted were all ſtrangers "to me; I had no knowledge of them. They beſt can tell who "they are, and what they profeſs. The name of the prince was "never mentioned by me but with that reſpect, which I pay "to the gods. What I did was my own act: that miſerable "man, my unhappy father, knew nothing of it. If any crime has "been committed, he is innocent: I, and I alone am guilty."

XXXII. Soranus

XXXII. SORANUS could no longer reſtrain himſelf. He interrupted his daughter, crying aloud, "She was not with me "in Aſia; ſhe is too young to have any knowledge of Rubellius "Plautus. In the accuſation againſt her huſband ſhe was not "involved; her filial piety is her only crime. Diſtinguiſh her "caſe from mine; reſpect the cauſe of innocence, and on my "head let your worſt vengeance fall. I am ready to meet my "fate." With theſe words, he ruſhed to embrace his child; ſhe advanced to meet him, but the lictors interpoſed to prevent the pathetic ſcene. The witneſſes were called in. The fathers had hitherto liſtened to all that paſſed, with emotions of pity; but pity was ſoon converted into a ſtronger paſſion. The appearance of Publius Egnatius *(a)*, the client of Soranus, hired to give evidence againſt his patron and his friend, kindled a general indignation. This man profeſſed himſelf a follower of the ſtoic ſect. He had learned in that ſchool to retail the maxims of virtue, and could teach his features to aſſume an air of ſimplicity, while fraud and perfidy, and avarice, lay lurking at his heart. The temptation of money drew forth his hidden character, and the hypocrite ſtood detected. His treachery gave a ſtanding leſſon to mankind, that, in the commerce of the world, it is not ſufficient to guard againſt open and avowed iniquity, ſince the profeſſors of friendſhip can, under a counterfeit reſemblance of virtue, nouriſh the worſt of vices, and prove, in the end, the moſt pernicious enemies.

XXXIII. THE ſame day produced a ſplendid example of truth and honour in the perſon of Caſſius Aſclepiodotus; a man diſtinguiſhed by his wealth, and ranked with the moſt eminent inhabitants of Bithynia. Having loved and followed Soranus in his proſperity, he did not deſert him in the hour of diſtreſs. He ſtill adhered to him with unaltered friendſhip, and for his con-

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ſtancy was deprived of his all, and ſent into baniſhment; the gods, in their juſt diſpenſations, permitting an example of virtue, even in ruin, to ſtand in contraſt to ſucceſsful villainy. Thraſea, Soranus, and Servilia, were allowed to chooſe their mode of dying. Helvidius Priſcus and Paconius Agrippinus were baniſhed out of Italy. Montanus owed his pardon to the influence of his father, but was declared incapable of holding any public office. The proſecutors were amply rewarded. Eprius Marcellus and Coſſutianus received each of them fifty thouſand ſeſterces. Oſtorius Sabinus obtained a grant of twelve thouſand, with the ornaments of the quæſtorſhip.

XXXIV. Towards the cloſe of day, the conſular quæſtor *(a)* was ſent to Thraſea, who was then amuſing himſelf in his garden, attended by a number of friends, the moſt illuſtrious of both ſexes. Demetrius *(b)*, a philoſopher of the cynic ſchool, was the perſon who chiefly engaged his attention. Their converſation, as was inferred from looks of earneſt meaning, and from ſome expreſſions diſtinctly heard, turned upon the immortality of the ſoul, and its ſeparation from the body. Thraſea had not heard of the decree that paſſed the ſenate, when his intimate friend, Domitius Cæcilianus, arrived with the unhappy tidings. The company melted into tears. Thraſea ſaw their generous ſympathy; he heard their lamentations: but fearing that the intereſt, which they took in the lot of a man doomed to deſtruction, might involve them in future danger, he conjured them to retire. Arria *(c)*, his wife, inſpired by the memorable example of her mother, reſolved to ſhare her huſband's fate. Thraſea entreated her to continue longer in life, and not deprive their daughter of the only comfort and ſupport of her tender years.

XXXV. He then walked his portico, and there received the conſular

conſular quæſtor. An air of ſatisfaction was viſible in his countenance. He had been informed that Helvidius, his ſon-in-law, had met with nothing harſher than a ſentence of baniſhment out of Italy. The decree of the ſenate, drawn up in form, being delivered to him, he withdrew to his chamber, attended by Helvidius and Demetrius. He there preſented both his arms; and the veins being opened, as ſoon as the blood began to flow, he deſired the quæſtor to draw nearer, and ſprinkling the floor with his vital drops, "Thus," he ſaid, "let us make libation to JUPI-"TER THE DELIVERER! Behold, young man, a mind undaunted "and reſigned: and may the gods avert from you ſo ſevere a "trial of your virtue! But you are fallen on evil times, in "which you will find it expedient to fortify your ſoul by exam-"ples of unſhaken conſtancy." The approach of death was ſlow and lingering. As his pains increaſed, he raiſed his eyes, and turning to Demetrius * * * * *

THE REST OF THIS BOOK IS LOST.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SIXTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

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gives a looſe to vice, indulges in new pleaſures, and marries Sporus, the eunuch. IX. *The exhauſted finances of the prince ſupplied by draining the people. The arrogance of Helius, an imperial freedman, who directs every thing at Rome.* X. *Nero attempts to open a paſſage for the ſea through the Iſthmus of Corinth. For that purpoſe, a number of Jew priſoners ſent by Veſpaſian to labour at the work. Veſpaſian appointed commander againſt the Jews.* XI. *Helius, who governs every thing at Rome, in the abſence of Nero, inſults the ſenate and the people. He writes an account to Nero of all that paſſes, and preſſes him to return to the capitol. Nero forms a deſign againſt the life of Corbulo. Arrius Varrus, an officer in Aſia, ſends an accuſation againſt Corbulo. Corbulo paſſes into Greece, to have an interview with Nero. Corbulo compelled to diſpatch himſelf. Nero's labours at the Iſthmus of Corinth. He embarks for Italy, and arrives at Naples. He enters Rome in triumph.* XII. *A conſpiracy diſcovered, and the accomplices put to death. A revolt in Gaul. Virginius Rufus defeats the inſurrection of Vindex. Galba, in ſecret, favoured the cauſe of Vindex, and is much alarmed at his defeat.* XIII. *Nero reſolves to deſtroy the whole ſenate. His deſigns diſcovered by a favourite ſlave. The fathers, alarmed for their own ſafety, prepare to counteract Nero's deſigns. Nero adjudged to ſuffer death, as an enemy to his country.* XIV. *Nero terrified: He is driven to deſpair, laments his ſad condition, and, at laſt puts an end to his life; the laſt and worſt of the houſe of Cæſar.* XV. *Prodigies: the ſudden joy, and changeable humours of the populace. Nymphidius favours Galba's party, meaning at the ſame time to ſeize the ſovereignty. He is ſlain.* XVI. *Proceedings againſt all the inſtruments of Nero's*

cruelty. Galba informed of the death of Nero. He marches at the head of his army towards Italy, and begins his reign with cruelty and great effuſion of blood.

Theſe tranſactions paſſed in three years.

A. U. C.	of Chriſt.	Conſuls.
819	66	*Suetonius Paulinus, Lucius Teleſinus.*
820	67	*Fonteius Capito, Julius Rufus.*
821	68	*Silius Italicus, Galerius Trachalus.*

APPENDIX

TO THE

SIXTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

I. IT is not without regret that we loſe the laſt words of a great man at the point of death. All we know is, that Thraſea fixed his eyes on his friend Demetrius, and there Tacitus fails us. What the philoſopher ſaid, cannot now be collected from any contemporary hiſtorian. It is probable that he expired in a ſhort time after. Seeing the vices of the age, and the ſavage cruelty of the reigning prince, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a man of virtue, fortified by the doctrines of the ſtoic ſchool, did not think it awful to die. He was often heard to ſay, that he had rather lay down his life to-day, than be to-morrow baniſhed

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niſhed to an iſland. That ſentiment was applauded by the philoſophers *(a)* of the age. With the ſame ſpirit he was uſed to declare his mind in converſation with his friends. If, he ſaid, Nero intended to deſtroy no one but me, I could excuſe his flatterers; but flattery will not ſave their lives. Since death is a debt that all muſt pay, it is better to die in freedom, than live an ignominious ſlave. All that Nero can do, is to ſhorten my days: my memory will ſubſiſt, and men will continue to talk of me. But for the tribe of abject ſycophants, they will periſh, and be mentioned no more. Thraſea was not more diſtinguiſhed by his unſhaken fortitude, than by the virtues of humanity. Pliny the conſul celebrates him for an apothegm, which ſhews in the faireſt light the amiable tenderneſs of his nature. An unforgiving diſpoſition was in his eyes not only ungenerous, but immoral; it was, therefore, his maxim *(b)*, that he, who ſuffers himſelf to hate vice, will hate mankind. It were ſuperfluous to add any further particulars of a man ſo truly eminent. Tacitus ſays, that by deſtroying him, Nero intended, by the ſame blow, to deſtroy virtue itſelf. All praiſe is ſummed up in that ſhort encomium.

Soranus, and his daughter Servilia, died with equal virtue, and equal glory. Helvidius Priſcus *(c)*, as already mentioned, was condemned to exile. Paconius Agrippinus *(d)* met with the ſame ſeverity. Like his friend Helvidius, he was a man of diſtinguiſhed virtue, and undaunted reſolution. Being informed that his trial, though he was not cited to appear, was actually depending before the ſenate, May the gods grant me their protection! ſaid he; but it is now the fifth hour, and that is the time when I uſually bathe. His cauſe was not long in ſuſpenſe. Being informed that judgment was pronounced againſt him, he calmly aſked, What is the ſentence? Death or baniſhment? Being

ing told that it was the latter, And what have they done with my effects? You are left in poſſeſſion of them. Well then, ſaid he, I can dine at Aricia *(e)*. He accepted his life, and, by his calm indifference, gained as much glory as others by the fortitude with which they met their fate. Demetrius, the friend of Thraſea, did not eſcape the notice of Nero. The tyrant threatened inſtant execution. You may command it, ſaid Demetrius; you threaten me with death, and nature threatens you *(f)*. The intrepid firmneſs of a poor philoſopher, or perhaps the meanneſs of his condition, ſaved his life.

II. CORNUTUS, another philoſopher, who profeſſed the doctrines of the Platonic ſchool, had the misfortune to be conſulted on the ſubject of a poem, which Nero had projected *(a)*. He ſpoke his mind with honeſt freedom, and for that offence was immediately baniſhed. Nor was the cruelty of the prince appeaſed by the number that fell a ſacrifice; he ſtill thirſted for blood; but happily a ſcene of ſplendour, then ready to be diſplayed, engaged his attention, and gave the people ſome reſpite from the rage of an inſatiate tyrant. Tiridates, who, with the conſent of his brother Vologeſes, the Parthian king, had agreed with Corbulo to undertake a journey to Rome *(b)*, in order there to receive the regal diadem from the hand of the emperor, was arrived in Italy. Nero was then at Naples, and, in that city, the eaſtern prince was admitted to his preſence. The ſpectacle was magnificent. It ſerved at once to gratify the pride of a Roman emperor, and for a time to ſooth the afflictions of the people. Tiridates was attended by a long proceſſion of officers and a military band appointed by Corbulo. He had, beſides, not leſs than three thouſand of the Parthian nobility in his train, with his wife, and the ſons *(c)* of Vologeſes, of Pacorus, and Monobazus. His

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march through the provinces had no appearance of a prince ſubdued, and forced to ſubmit to the will of a conqueror. Till he entered the city of Naples all was grandeur and royal magnificence. The act of humiliation ſtill remained. He was to pay homage to the emperor on his knees. Mortifying as that circumſtance was to an oriental king, Tiridates ſubmitted to proſtrate himſelf at Nero's feet. Vologeſes had ſtipulated with Corbulo, that his brother ſhould not be compelled to deliver up his ſword *(d)*; and Tiridates called it an ignominious act, beneath the dignity of the Arſacidæ. Nothing could extort his ſword. He is ſaid to have nailed it to the ſcabbard. The magnanimity, with which he refuſed to comply, obtained the applauſe of all, who beheld a ſcene ſo new and magnificent.

The court ſet out for Rome. Nero thought proper to make ſome ſtay at Puteoli *(e)*, in order to entertain his royal viſitor with a ſhow of gladiators. The ſpectacle was exhibited by Patrobius *(f)*, one of the emperor's freedmen, with great expence and prodigious pomp. The genius of Nero could not lie ſtill on ſuch an occaſion. In his opinion it was fit that a foreign prince, and his Parthian courtiers, ſhould know how well the emperor of Rome could ſing. Tiridates beheld the whole with mixed emotions of wonder, admiration and contempt. The example of Nero did not tempt him to exhibit his perſon as a ſhow to the people. He ſcorned to deſcend into the arena, but did not think it beneath his dignity to call for his bow and arrow, and from the throne, where he was ſeated, to give a ſpecimen of his dexterity. He aimed at the wild beaſts, and the ſpectators admired his addreſs and the vigour of his arm. Hiſtorians relate as a fact *(g)*, that two bulls were transfixed by one arrow, and died on the ſpot.

III. Nero

III. NERO proceeded, with a grand cavalcade, on his way to Rome, where the moſt ſplendid preparations were made for his reception. The whole city was illuminated, and the houſes decorated with garlands and laurel wreaths. The people crowded together from all quarters, and rent the air with ſhouts and acclamations, while the emperor, with Tiridates and the Parthian nobility in his train, made his triumphal entry. A day was fixed for Tiridates to receive the diadem from the hands of Nero. Nothing could equal the pomp and ſplendour, with which that ceremony was performed *(a)*. On the preceding evening, the city was again illuminated, and the ſtreets adorned with flowers. At the dawn of day, an incredible multitude repaired to the forum; the tops of houſes were crowded with ſpectators, and a ſplendid, but theatrical pomp was exhibited with laviſh expence. The people, dreſſed in white robes, crowned with laurels, and ranked in their ſeveral tribes, walked in proceſſion to their reſpective ſeats. The prætorian guards, with their ſtandards ranged in order, and their colours flying, diſplayed their glittering arms. Nero entered the forum in his triumphal habit. The whole body of the ſenate followed in his train. He took his ſeat on a curule chair, amidſt the ſtandards and the eagles. In a ſhort time after, Tiridates made his appearance. The ſoldiers opened their lines; he advanced through the ranks, with his eaſtern nobility in his train. He approached the roſtrum, and on his knees offered homage to Nero. The people were not able to contain their joy. They ſaw the pride of an oriental king humbled at the feet of the emperor. The majeſty of Rome filled every imagination. A ſhout burſt forth from the enraptured multitude. Tiridates was aſtoniſhed at the ſound: he ſtood at gaze, and his heart ſhrunk within him. Nero raiſed him from the ground, and, having claſped him in his arms, placed the

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diadem on his head *(b)*, amidſt the repeated ſhouts and acclamations of the people.

IV. The Parthian prince, not yet recovered from his ſurpriſe, in the hurry and agitation of his ſpirits, addreſſed himſelf to Nero, in ſubſtance as follows: "You ſee before you a prince "deſcended from the line of the Arſacidæ; you behold the bro- "ther of two kings, Vologeſes and Pacorus; and yet I own "myſelf your ſlave. You, no leſs than *(a) Mithra*, are to me "a god. I pay you the ſame veneration as I do to the Sun. "Without your protection, I have no kingdom; my rights muſt "flow from you. You are the author of my fortune; and your "will is fate." An ancient prætor undertook to be interpreter on the occaſion. The people, well convinced that Nero, by his vices, had forfeited all kind of claim to ſuch reſpectful language, received it as the homage of a king to the majeſty of the Roman name. The ſpeech was ſufficiently mean and abject, but the arrogance and ferocity of Nero's anſwer *(b)* exceeded every thing. "I congratulate you on the wiſdom, that brought you thus far "to enjoy the ſunſhine of my preſence, and my protection. The "diadem, which your father could not leave you, nor your bro- "thers confirm in your hand, is the gift which I beſtow. The "kingdom of Armenia is yours: I place you on the vacant "throne. From this day you and your brothers may learn, that "it is mine to raiſe or depoſe the monarchs of the earth, as my "wiſdom ſhall direct."

Such was the haughty ſtyle, in which Nero ſpoke of himſelf; but he did not long ſupport his grandeur. The coronation being over, he adjourned to Pompey's theatre, where the ſcene was prepared, at an enormous expence, with the moſt ſuperb

decorations. The ſtage, and the whole inſide of that noble ſtructure, were caſed *(c)* with gold. Such a profuſion of wealth and magnificence had never been diſplayed to view. To ſcreen the ſpectators from the rays of the ſun, a purple canopy, inlaid with golden ſtars, was ſpread over their heads. In the centre was ſeen, richly embroidered, the figure of Nero in the act of driving a curricle. To the exhibitions of the theatre the pleaſures of the table ſucceeded. The banquet *(d)* was the moſt ſumptuous that taſte and luxury could contrive. When the appetite of the gueſts was ſatisfied, the public diverſions were once more reſumed. Nero ſeized the opportunity to diſplay his talents; and he, who a little before was maſter of the univerſe, appeared in the characters of charioteer, comedian, ſinger, and buffoon. He ſung on the ſtage, and drove round the circus in his green livery *(e)*. The king of Armenia ſaw the prince, who talked of dealing out crowns and ſceptres, warbling a tune, and managing the reins for the entertainment of his ſubjects. Such deſpicable talents, he knew, could neither form a warrior, nor a legiſlator. His glory, it now was evident, depended on the virtue and the genius of men very different from himſelf. How he found a people tame enough to obey, and general officers willing to command his armies, was matter of wonder to the Parthian prince. Struck with that idea, he could not refrain from ſaying to Nero, in the ſimplicity of his heart *(f)*, "You have in Corbulo a moſt "valuable ſlave." The drift and good ſenſe of the obſervation made no impreſſion on a frivolous mind like that of Nero. An emperor, who placed his glory in being a ſcenic performer, paid no attention to the merit of Corbulo. If he underſtood the reflection of the eaſtern prince, he ſhewed afterwards, that the only uſe he made of it was, to nouriſh a ſecret jealouſy, and plan the ruin of an officer, whoſe fame in arms was too great for a tyrant to endure.

As

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As ſoon as the diverſions of the theatre and the circus ended, Nero thought fit to open a more important ſcene. He proceeded with a grand retinue to the capitol, where he entered with a branch of laurel in his hand; and, as if he had ſubdued Armenia, the charioteer and player of interludes was ſaluted IMPERATOR. His vanity was now amply gratified; but vanity was not the only ſpring of his actions. To be an adept in magic arts had been for ſome time his predominant paſſion; and, as Tiridates brought with him in his train a number of the Parthian MAGI, he thought the opportunity fair to learn all the ſecrets of an occult ſcience, which he believed was not the mere illuſion of mathematicians and pretended philoſophers. Tiridates ſtudied to ingratiate himſelf, and was proud to have the emperor of Rome for his pupil *(g)*. By his deſire, the MAGI opened all their ſtores of knowledge, and Nero, with the anxiety of a guilty mind, was eager to pry into futurity. He was maſter of the Roman world, and, with the aſſiſtance of his oriental teachers, flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſoon be able to controul the ways of Providence, and give the law to the gods. With this view he paſſed his time in cloſe conference with a ſet of Chaldean impoſtors; but Tiridates was not able, in return for the kingdom of Armenia, to teach his benefactor the art of holding commerce with evil ſpirits. Nero found the whole to be a ſyſtem of fraud. Inſtead of being enabled to hold a council with infernal powers, he was left to the ſuggeſtions of his own heart, and the advice of a pernicious crew of abandoned men and women, who were the emperor's confidential miniſters, and the inſtruments of every villany.

V. IT is certain that Nero's paſſion for the guitar, and ſtage-muſic, was not greater than his ambition to excel in magic incantations; but though his hopes were fruſtrated, he did not ceaſe to entertain Tiridates with the moſt laviſh profuſion. An enormous

mous ſum *(a)* was iſſued every day to the Armenian king, for the ſupport of his own grandeur, and the courtiers in his train. At his departure a ſtill larger ſum was ordered, as a preſent from the emperor; and, that he might rebuild the city of Artaxata *(b)*, which had been levelled to the ground, a number of artificers were added, at a vaſt expence, to the retinue of the Parthian prince, who alſo engaged a number of others to attend him, for ſtipulated wages, to his own country. The conſequence of Nero's generoſity was, that the fixing of a king on the throne of Armenia, was a heavier burthen to the Romans than any of their moſt expenſive wars.

There is reaſon to think, that the want of ſucceſs in the attempt to make Nero believe in the religion of the *Magi*, ſerved, in ſome degree, to open the eyes of Tiridates, and remove the errors of eaſtern ſuperſtition. In order to viſit Rome, he had taken a wide compaſs over an immenſe tract of country, and travelled all the way by land. The cauſe of this circuitous and laborious journey muſt be referred to the ſuperſtition of his native country. In the creed of the Parthian Magi, the ſea was ſaid to be a ſacred element *(c)*; and to ſpit in it, or defile the purity of the waters by the ſuperfluities of the human body, was held to be profane and impious. The deſign, probably, was, by that doctrine to prevent migration, and what at firſt was policy received in time the ſanction of religion. But Tiridates, during his ſtay at Rome, ſo far weeded out the prejudices of education, that he made no ſcruple to return by ſea. He embarked at Brunduſium *(d)*, and, having croſſed the Adriatic, arrived at the port of Dyrrachium *(e)*. From that place he purſued his voyage along the coaſt of Aſia, and, being ſafely landed, viſited the Roman provinces, and the moſt ſplendid cities on the continent. Before he entered the confines of Armenia, Corbulo advanced to a

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meeting. In his interview with the Armenian monarch, he ſtill maintained that ſuperior character, which he had fairly earned by his talents and his virtues. Finding an extraordinary number of artificers in the prince's train, he reſolved to act with due attention to the intereſt as well as the dignity of the Roman name; and with that view, having ſeparated ſuch as were hired, he ſuffered none but thoſe who were a donation from Nero, to migrate to a foreign country. This behaviour gave no offence to Tiridates. He took leave of Corbulo with the higheſt eſteem for his many virtues; and, though he entertained no kind of perſonal reſpect for Nero, he thought the regal diadem claimed a return of gratitude; and, upon that principle, as ſoon as the capital of Armenia was rebuilt, inſtead of calling it *Artaxata*, he gave it the flattering name of *Neronia*.

VI. ROME having no war upon her hands, Nero, with airs of ſelf-congratulation, as if his valour had ſubdued the nations, thought fit to ſhut the temple of JANUS *(a)*. But that pacific diſpoſition did not laſt long. Intoxicated by the homage which he had received from Tiridates, he wanted to renew the ſame ſcene of ſplendour and vain-glory, by the humiliation of Vologeſes, the Parthian king. For that purpoſe, he endeavoured, by preſſing invitations, to induce that prince to undertake a journey to Rome. At length the eaſtern monarch gave a deciſive anſwer: "You can croſs the ſea, which I hold to be a forbidden "element; come to Aſia, and we will then ſettle the ceremony "of our meeting." Fired with indignation by that peremptory refuſal, and the tone of grandeur with which it was delivered, Nero was upon the point of declaring war, if other projects had not dazzled his imagination. He concerted his meaſures, and laid plans of vaſt ambition; but the caprice that dictated them yielded to the firſt novelty that occurred. He intended to open the

the temple of Janus for four wars at once *(b)*. The firſt, againſt the Jews, who felt themſelves oppreſſed by the avarice and rapacity of Geſſius Florus, the governor of the province, and were, at that time, in open revolt. The ſecond enterpriſe was intended againſt the Æthiopians; the third, againſt the Albanians on the borders of the Caſpian ſea; the fourth, to revenge the inſult offered to him by the haughty ſpirit of Vologeſes. The love of fame, whatever he did, was the inſpiring motive: whether he ſent forth his armies, or drove a chariot, or ſung a ſong, praiſe was ſtill the ultimate end. If by his victorious arms the Æthiopians and Albanians could be reduced to ſubjection, the glory of enlarging the boundaries of the empire was to be the bright reward. His exertions were, therefore, made againſt the two laſt-mentioned ſtates. He ſent detachments forward to ſurvey the country; he formed flying camps in thoſe diſtant regions; he began to collect the forces of the empire; and, not content with drawing from Britain, from Germany, and Illyricum, the flower of his armies, he formed a new legion, compoſed of men ſix feet high, and this he called the phalanx *(c)* of Alexander the Great.

Amidſt this din of arms, and all this mighty tumult of warlike preparations, an incident occurred of more moment to Nero than the glory of the Roman name. A deputation arrived at Rome from the cities of Greece, where the theatre, and poetry, and muſic flouriſhed, with orders to preſent to the emperor, from the ſeveral places, the victor's crown *(d)* for minſtrelſy and ſong. An opportunity ſo bright and unexpected was not to be neglected. Nero was tranſported with joy: he towered above himſelf and all competition. The deputies were admitted to his preſence; they were careſſed, invited to his table, and all other buſineſs, however important, gave way to the elegant arts. The

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Greeks were ſkilled in the trade of adulation. They beſeeched the prince to honour them with a ſpecimen of his talents. Nero ſung to his gueſts; they heard, they applauded, they were thrown into ecſtaſies. He in his turn admired their taſte; they were the only people who had muſic in their ſouls; they, and they only, had an ear for finer ſound; the true maſters of harmony; the judges who deſerved to hear his exquiſite powers. From that moment all his warlike projects vaniſhed from his mind. He thought no more of humbling the Parthian king; the Æthiopians and Albanians might enjoy their independent ſtate, and Veſpaſian might take the field againſt the Jews. The fame of a coachman, a minſtrel, and a ſinger, was of greater moment. He reſolved, without delay, to ſet out for Greece. How the adminiſtration was to be conducted during his abſence, was the firſt conſideration. That did not embarraſs him long. The whole authority and all the functions of the prince were committed to Helius, one of his freedmen. That upſtart miniſter, with Polycletus, his aſſociate, had already enriched himſelf with the plunder of the public, and was now, with the whole power in his hands, to give a full diſplay of his character. That point being ſettled, a weightier care ſtill remained. An imperial charioteer, and a comedian of illuſtrious rank, who was to be nobly covered with Olympic duſt, and to bring back laurel crowns for his victories in ſong and pantomime, could not undertake ſuch an expedition without the greateſt pomp. Preparations were accordingly made. The emperor ſeemed to be going to an important war *(e)*. Tigellinus put himſelf at the head of the companions of the Auguſtan order, in number not leſs than five thouſand. To theſe were added an incredible multitude of abandoned harlots, and the moſt debauched young men of the time. The whole train went forth, not in warlike array, with ſwords, and pikes, and javelins, but with ſofter inſtruments;

ments; with the ſock and buſkin; with muſic, lutes and guitars. The retinue was ſuited to the dignity of the enterpriſe. An idea of the ſplendour and magnificence diſplayed on this occaſion may be eaſily formed, when we are told that Nero never travelled with leſs than a thouſand baggage-waggons *(f)*; the mules all ſhod with ſilver, and the drivers dreſſed in ſcarlet; his African ſlaves adorned with bracelets on their arms, and the horſes decorated with the richeſt trappings.

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VII. THE conſuls for this year were Fonteius Capito and Julius Rufus; but their authority was ſuperſeded by Helius, the freedman, who exerciſed all the powers of the imperial prerogative. This man broke looſe at once, and was ſoon felt as a public calamity. Pride and inſolence, avarice and cruelty, the never-failing vices of thoſe deteſtable miſcreants, who from the dregs of the people riſe above their fellow citizens, marked the conduct of this favourite freedman, and debaſed the people, who ſubmitted to ſo vile a maſter. All degrees and ranks of men, the ſenate, and the Roman knights, groaned under the iron rod of an ignoble tyrant, who confiſcated their eſtates, ſent them into baniſhment, or took away their lives at his will and pleaſure. The people, who ſhuddered at the preſence of the emperor, were obliged, in miſery of heart, to lament his abſence.

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Nero, in the mean time, arrived at Caſſiopœa *(b)* in the iſle of Corcyra, and there, in the temple of Jupiter Caſſius *(c)*, he tuned his harp, and ſung in the preſence of the people. From that place he ſet ſail for Greece. Being ſafely landed, his firſt care was, like a great officer, before he marched further into the country, to ſettle the plan of his operations, in order not only to gain, but to ſecure his victory. With this view, he iſſued his

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public orders, requiring that all the games *(d)*, which were celebrated throughout Greece at ſtated periods, and in different years, ſhould be performed at their reſpective places, during his ſtay in the country; and not only ſo, but that each city ſhould wait for his arrival. Nor was this all: the fame of ſuch as had proved victorious, and were then no more, was to be obliterated from the memory of man, that all preceding merit might be eclipſed by the luſtre of a new performer. The ſtatues of the deceaſed were all demoliſhed *(e)*. The living artiſts were treated with leſs rigour. They were required to enter the liſts with their imperial rival, and, upon that condition, their ſtatues were exempted from the general deſtruction. Nero's love of fame was not a generous emulation; it was an impatience of a rival, that turned to envy, rancour, and malice. To be pronounced the firſt muſician, and the beſt tragedian, was not enough for his vaſt ambition; he was likewiſe to be the moſt ſkilful driver of a curricle. With that bright object in view, he had for ſome years before meditated an expedition into Greece; and finding that the Olympic games were, in their regular courſe, to be celebrated in the ſummer, in the year of Rome eight hundred and ſixteen, he even then had the precaution, by a poſitive command, to defer the exhibition of that great national ſpectacle till his arrival in Greece. The law, or, which was equivalent, his will and pleaſure, being announced, the people prepared for his reception. He began his tour through the country; he viſited the ſeveral cities, and gave himſelf a ſpectacle on the public ſtage. Greece had been reduced to ſubjection by Flaminius, Mummius, Agrippa, and Auguſtus Cæſar: and now in her turn ſhe triumphed over the conqueror. She ſaw the emperor of Rome running from place to place in the character of a ſtrolling player, a travelling muſician, and a famous coachman. He did not, however, depend altogether on his merit, but practiſed the underhand arts,

by

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by which ſucceſs is often enſured. He hired a numerous party to applaud, and diſtributed bribes among the judges who were to decide. Wherever he performed, a legion of Roman knights was ſtationed in the theatre, by their own example to excite and animate the admiration of the multitude, and teach the Greeks what was excellent in the arts, which they themſelves had invented, and carried to perfection. By theſe and ſuch like preconcerted meaſures, Nero ſecured his triumph in all quarters. Competition was invited, and at the ſame time intimidated. In one of the cities, a man well ſkilled in muſic, but a bad politician, experienced the danger of contending with a powerful rival. Zealous for the honour of his art, and proud of his own talent, he perſiſted to diſpute the prize, till the lictors drove him to the wall, and there diſpatched him in the ſight of the audience. Veſpaſian had found it neceſſary to paſs from Syria into Greece, in order to appear among the band of courtiers, and pay his homage to the emperor. But, unfortunately, he either had no ear for muſic, or he did not reckon it among the accompliſhments of a prince. He heard that divine voice in a ſullen mood, or, as happened to him at Rome upon a former occaſion, he fell aſleep *(f)*. For this offence, he was ordered to appear no more in the preſence of the emperor. He retired to a ſmall village, and there, in an obſcure lurking-place, hoped to find a ſhelter from reſentment. He remained for ſome time in that ſtate of anxious ſuſpenſe, when the fates called him forth to ſcenes of future glory. The Jews were in the field with a powerful army; they had defeated Ceſtius Gallus with great ſlaughter, and taken an eagle from one of the legions. The criſis was big with danger, and called for vigorous meaſures. But Nero did not think that Judæa was the field of glory. He gave the command to Veſpaſian, apprehending no danger from a man of obſcure deſcent, and auſtere manners, whom he was no longer willing to retain near his

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his perſon. Veſpaſian departed to take upon him the command in Syria, and Nero continued his progreſs through Greece. He was received every where with public demonſtrations of reſpect; but the people could ſcarce refrain from laughter, when they heard the ſound of a voice neither loud nor clear, and ſaw the ſinger riſing on his toes, in a vain endeavour to expand the notes, and ſtraining his organs, till a face, naturally red, was ſo inflamed as to vie with the deepeſt ſcarlet. Not content with the fame of an enchanting ſinger, he reſolved to prove himſelf a great tragedian. The parts, in which he choſe to diſtinguiſh himſelf *(g)*, were HERCULES FURENS; ŒDIPUS, who murdered his father, and tore out his own eyes; ORESTES, poignarding his mother; and ſometimes a RAVISHED SABINE, or a MATRON IN LABOUR, on the point of being delivered. When he arrived at Olympia, he found, that the celebrated games of that place conſiſted altogether of chariot-races, and athletic exerciſes, and by conſequence that no theatre had been erected. Was his darling muſic to be excluded? Rather than ſuffer ſuch an indignity, he ordered preparations to be made for interludes, and other dramatic performances. Not content with being blinded on the ſtage; with raving like a madman, and being brought to bed like a woman; he was ſtill to ſigure on the race-ground, and aſtoniſh the multitude with his dexterity in whirling round the courſe. Determined to perform wonders, and ſurpaſs all ancient fame, he mounted a car drawn by ſix horſes, but had the misfortune, in the heat of his career, to be thrown from his ſeat. He mounted again; but either hurt by his fall, or not able to bear the velocity of the motion, he was obliged to deſcend before he reached the goal. He was, notwithſtanding, declared conqueror. He contended afterwards for the prizes at the Pythian, the Nemean, and all the other games of Greece, with equal ſucceſs at every place. He was proclaimed victor in all trials of ſkill, and gained no leſs than

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than eighteen hundred different crowns. The honour ſo obtained was always underſtood to reflect a luſtre on the conqueror's native country. With a view to that cuſtom, the form of the proclamation *(b)* in favour of Nero was as follows: NERO CÆSAR IS VICTOR IN THE COMBAT (naming it), AND HAS WON THE CROWN FOR THE ROMAN PEOPLE, AND THE UNIVERSE, OF WHICH HE IS MASTER." Care was taken to tranſmit to Rome a regular account of all his victories. Such a career of rapid ſucceſs made the people ſtand at gaze. The ſenate paſſed a vote of thanks to the gods for ſuch ſignal events, and, by their decrees, ſo loaded the calendar, that the year could ſcarce find room for ſo many rejoicing days.

VIII. NERO now conceived that he had triumphed over the arts, and, in the pride of his heart, reſolved to make a progreſs through the conquered country. He took care, however, not to viſit Athens or Lacedæmon. In the former, he dreaded to approach the temple of the Eumenidæ. A mind laſhed and goaded by the whips and ſtings of a guilty conſcience wiſhed to avoid thoſe avenging deities *(a)*. He was deterred from Lacedæmon by the form of government, and the ſanctity of the laws eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus. The place where the Eleuſinian myſteries *(b)* were celebrated, was alſo forbidden ground. Murderers and parricides were excluded from thoſe religious ceremonies. Nero was ſeized with a fit of remorſe. Buſy reflection brought to light the iniquities of his conduct; in the agitation of his ſpirits, he reviewed thoſe deeds of horror, which forbore to goad him, while his mind was becalmed by vanity and pleaſure. Conſcience may grant a truce to the guilty, but never makes a laſting peace. Diſtracted by his fears, and ſunk in the gloom of ſuperſtition *(c)*, he reſolved to conſult the oracle at Delphi. The Pythian prieſteſs warned him to beware of ſeventy-three years *(d)*.

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He received the admonition as a certain promiſe of long life, not then thinking of Galba, who had reached his ſeventy-third year, and in a ſhort time after ſucceeded to the imperial dignity. The oracle pleaſed him at firſt by agreeable bodings, but did not continue long in his good graces. The parricide, he was told, which he had committed, placed him in the ſame rank with Alcmeon and Oreſtes, who had murdered their mothers. Nero kindled with indignation. He reſolved that the god ſhould feel his reſentment, and, in his fury, disfranchiſed the territory of Cirrha *(e)*, which had been appropriated to the temple, and was held to be conſecrated ground. Nor did his phrenſy end here. The oracle was to be ſilenced, or ſo profaned as to loſe its credit. With this intent, he ordered a number of men to be maſſacred on the ſpot; and having poured libations of their blood into the opening of the ground, from which the exhalations iſſued, that were ſuppoſed to inſpire the prieſteſs with enthuſiaſtic fury, he cloſed the orifice, and with pride and inſolence left a place which had been revered for ages. After this exploit, he returned to his former luxury, and in the gratifications of vice hoped to find ſome reſpite from his anxious thoughts. But even vice required variety. Repetition might pall the fated appetite, and, if he did not ſhew an inventive genius, the flattery of the Greeks was in danger of being exhauſted. He had made himſelf at Rome the wife of Pythagoras *(f)*; but that was become an obſolete ſtory, and no longer excited wonder. He was determined, therefore, to reſume his ſex, and marry Sporus, the eunuch. The ceremony was performed *(g)* with great pomp and ſplendour. Calvia Criſpinilla *(h)* was appointed miſtreſs of the wardrobe to the emperor's wife. She adorned the bride with all the decorations of female elegance; and Tigellinus, amidſt the applauſe of the aſtoniſhed Greeks, who, with arch ſneers of ridicule, had ſtill the addreſs to pay their adulation, gave away Sporus in marriage to

the emperor of Rome. It was ſaid upon the occaſion, that it would have been well for mankind, if Nero's father had been married to ſuch a wife.

IX. NERO could not, in this unbounded manner, riot in vice and folly without vaſt expence, and a prodigious waſte of the public treaſure. To ſupply his prodigality, Helius the freedman, who conducted the adminiſtration at Rome, laboured hard, by every iniquitous meaſure, by extortion, and cruelty, to raiſe enormous ſums of money. A tame and complying ſenate was eaſily induced by the arts of the prime miniſter to vote an immenſe annual ſum to be remitted to the emperor, during his abſence from the capital. The rapacity of Helius was not to be appeaſed. The companions of the Auguſtan ſociety *(a)* had bound themſelves by a vow to erect a ſtatue to Nero, not leſs than a thouſand pound weight. By that voluntary obligation they were ſaid to have incurred a debt, and were compelled to advance an equivalent ſum of money. No rank or ſtation was ſafe from plunder and oppreſſion. Roman knights and ſenators fell a ſacrifice, and their eſtates were confiſcated. Sulpicius Camerinus *(b)*, a man deſcended from an illuſtrious family, was put to death for an extraordinary reaſon. The ſurname of Pythicus had been for ages annexed to his anceſtors, and was, conſequently, an hereditary honour. By the fertile invention of Helius this was conſtrued into a crime. The name might imply a victor in the Pythian games; and when Nero, with the conſenting voice of Greece, was declared univerſal conqueror, to uſurp that title was a crime of violated majeſty, and an impious ſacrilege. Sulpicius and his ſon were put to death, and their effects were forfeited to the ſtate. Wealth, in whatever rank, was ſure to provoke the hand of rapacity, and Rome, under the government of a preſuming and arrogant freedman, was a ſcene of

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plunder, blood, and cruelty. And yet all that could be amaſſed by thoſe iniquitous means, was not ſufficient for the prodigality of Nero. The Greeks had flattered his vanity, and, in return, were doomed to feel the hand of oppreſſion. The cities, which had revered him as a god, had reaſon in the end to execrate him as a tyrant. They ſaw their beſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens put to death, or ſent into baniſhment, that the emperor might enjoy the ſpoils of their plundered property *(c)*.

X. The fame of a divine voice, and an exquiſite hand on the guitar, was not ſufficient for the ambition of Nero. He wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome unheard of enterpriſe. The grand, the vaſt, and almoſt impoſſible fired his imagination. He arrived at Corinth, and was there ſurpriſed to ſee by what a narrow iſthmus the two ſeas were ſeparated. Like the hero of Statius the poet, he heard the murmur of the billows, on the Ionian and the Ægean ſhores; *in mediis audit duo litora campis.* The project of piercing through the land, and forming a navigable canal to communicate the two ſeas, and render it unneceſſary for mariners to ſail round the Peloponneſus, ſtruck his fancy, and fired him with ideas of immortal fame *(a)*. The Greeks oppoſed the deſign, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from undertaking it. The language of ſuperſtition was, that to attempt to join what had been ſevered for ages, would be an impious violation of the laws of nature. Nero was not to be deterred from his purpoſe; religious principles were urged in vain; to conquer nature were an imperial work, and what the gods ordained, might be new modelled by his ſuperior judgment. He knew, beſides, that the attempt had been made by Demetrius Policrates, an eaſtern king, by Julius Cæſar and Caligula *(b)*; and to accompliſh an arduous work, which thoſe three princes had undertaken without effect, appeared to him the height of human glory. He reſolved, therefore,

therefore, to begin the work without delay. Having harangued the prætorian ſoldiers, and urged every topic that could inflame their ardour, he provided himſelf with a golden pick-axe (for ſuch hands were not to be ſullied by baſer metal), and, advancing on the ſhore, ſung in melodious ſtrains a hymn to Neptune, Amphitrite, and all the inferior gods and goddeſſes, who allay or heave the waters of the deep. After this ceremony, he ſtruck the firſt ſtroke into the ground, and, with a baſket of ſand on his ſhoulder, marched away in triumph, proud of his Herculean labour. The natives of the country ſaw the frantic enterpriſe with mixed emotions of fear, aſtoniſhment, and religious horror. They obſerved to Nero, that of the three princes, who had conceived the ſame deſign, not one died a natural death. They told him further, that, in ſome places, as ſoon as the axe pierced the ground, a ſtream of blood guſhed from the wound; hollow groans were heard from ſubterraneous caverns, and various ſpectres, emitting a feeble murmur, were ſeen to glide along the coaſt. Theſe remonſtrances made no impreſſion. Nero ordered his ſoldiers to exert their utmoſt vigour; money was levied in every quarter; cruelty and extortion went hand in hand. In order to procure a ſufficient number of workmen, the jails in all parts of the empire were ranſacked, and the armies in Syria and Paleſtine had it in command to ſend to Corinth all the priſoners taken in battle.

The conduct of the war againſt the Jewiſh nation had been, as mentioned above, committed to Veſpaſian, who had already carried his victorious arms through the province of Galilée. The enemy, as ſoon as they had intelligence that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army, endeavoured to ſurpriſe a Roman garriſon in the city of Aſcalon *(c)*, but were repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter. Not leſs than eighteen thouſand were put

to

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to the ſword by the legions, who had orders to give no quarter. Veſpaſian found it neceſſary, againſt a fierce and obſtinate race, at that time for their manifold crimes devoted to deſtruction, to forget the maxims of Roman clemency. It is certain that thoſe merciful conquerors never ſpilled ſo much hoſtile blood in any of their wars from the firſt foundation of Rome. The city of Gadara *(d)* was taken by ſtorm, and reduced to aſhes. The garriſon and the whole body of the inhabitants periſhed in the flames. In the mean time, Trajan, whoſe ſon was afterwards emperor of Rome, was ſent, at the head of the tenth legion, to ſpread terror and deſtruction through the country. He laid ſiege to the city of Japha *(e)*, and, meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, carried the works by aſſault. All, who were capable of bearing arms, in number not leſs than fifteen thouſand, were put to the ſword. The Samaritans, who had collected their forces on Mount Garizim *(f)*, were treated with the ſame ſeverity. Cerealis, who afterwards commanded againſt Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, and alſo in Britain, had orders to march with three thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe to attack the faſtneſſes on the hills, and diſlodge the enemy. He formed lines of circumvallation round the hill, and by a cloſe blockade cut off all communication with the adjacent country. The Samaritans were reduced by famine to the laſt diſtreſs; yet even in that condition held out to the laſt with determined obſtinacy. Cerealis ordered his men to advance up the hill. The ſoldiers forced their way up the ſteep aſcent, and with reſiſtleſs valour ſoon gained the ſummit. A dreadful carnage followed. Twelve thouſand of the Samaritans periſhed on the ſpot. The city of Gamala *(h)* was taken by aſſault, and the garriſon, with all the inhabitants, put to the ſword.

Veſpaſian, during theſe operations, carried on the ſiege of Jotapata,

Jotapata *(i)*, the ſtrongeſt place in Galilee. Joſephus *(k)*, the hiſtorian, had been appointed governor of the province, and he now commanded the garriſon, determined to make a vigorous defence, and hold out to the laſt extremity. The particulars of the ſiege are related by himſelf, and therefore need not to be here repeated. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that he diſcharged all the duties of an able officer, by his own example, no leſs than by his ſpirited exhortations, animating the ſoldiers, and in every part of the works exciting them to deeds of valour. The ſiege laſted ſeven-and-forty days. In one of the approaches to the walls, Veſpaſian was wounded by a lance aimed at him from the works; but he bore the pain with ſuch ſilent fortitude, that no ill conſequence followed. On the forty-ſeventh day of the ſiege, the inhabitants ſtill refuſing to capitulate, the ſignal was given for a general aſſault. Titus, at the head of a choſen band, ſcaled the walls, and was the firſt that entered the town. In that dreadful criſis it does not appear that Joſephus either faced the danger, or diſcharged the functions of a general officer. Except the women and children, and about twelve hundred priſoners, all who were found in the town died in one general carnage. Joſephus was afterwards found concealed in a cave. Veſpaſian ſpared his life, and the hiſtorian ſurvived to write an account of the ſiege, intermixed, indeed, with ſome romantic circumſtances, but containing various matter for the information of poſterity. The city of Tarichæa *(l)*, which had been the receptacle of a turbulent and ſeditious rabble from all ſides of the country, was compelled, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, to open her gates to Titus. Veſpaſian ordered twelve hundred of the moſt fierce incendiaries to be put to death, as a public example, and, in compliance with Nero's letters, ſent ſix thouſand priſoners *(m)* to work at the iſthmus of Corinth.

XI. While

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XI. While Veſpaſian purſued his conqueſts, and, in one campaign, overran the province of Galilee, Rome was a ſcene of tumult and diſtraction. Helius reigned like a ſecond emperor: the people called him the worſt of the two. Each day produced new proofs of avarice, cruelty, and all the vices of an upſtart ſlave. The ſenators began to wake from their lethargy; the clamours of the populace were loud and fierce; rage and indignation glowed in every breaſt; and the flame was ready to mount into a blaze. The freedman ſaw his danger. He diſpatched letters to inform the emperor that the urgency of affairs required his preſence at Rome *(a)*. But Nero's vaſt deſigns were of too much importance. His anſwer to the favourite was, "You adviſe me to return to Rome, but whatever your reaſons are, you ought rather to recommend a longer abſence; that I may finiſh my grand undertaking, and then reviſit the capital, crowned with immortal glory." He ſaw the number of labourers ſent by Veſpaſian, and, in conſideration of that timely ſuccour, forgave the merit of that victorious general. Corbulo *(b)* had not the good fortune to be remembered with equal moderation. Tiridates had mentioned him with the praiſe due to his virtue, and his fame in arms. That commendation was ſufficient to provoke the ingratitude of a tyrant, who beheld diſtinguiſhed talents with a jealous eye, and ſuffered no man to be great and virtuous with impunity. Being at length determined to execute the bloody purpoſe, which he had for ſome time harboured in ſecret, he wrote to Corbulo in terms of great eſteem and kindneſs, calling him his friend and benefactor, and expreſſing his ardent wiſh to have an interview with a general who had rendered ſuch ſignal ſervices to the empire. Having ſent that inſidious invitation, he held a private correſpondence with Arrius Varus, who ſerved in Aſia; a young man of a daring ſpirit, in haſte to riſe by his crimes. To fabricate a

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charge againſt his commanding officer he knew would be the way to ingratiate himſelf with Nero. He ſent a formal accuſation, loaded with every crime that calumny could ſuggeſt. Corbulo fell into the ſnare. A mind like his, impregnated with honour and heroic fortitude, could admit no ſuſpicion of intended treachery. He embarked without any retinue, and landed at Cenchreæ, a Corinthian harbour in the Ægean Sea. Nero was there at the time, dreſſed in his pantomime garb, and ready to mount the ſtage, when the arrival of his general officer was announced. He felt the indecency of giving an audience in his comedian's dreſs to a man, whom he reſpected, while he hated him. To free himſelf from all embarraſſment, he took the ſhorteſt way, and ſent a death-warrant. Corbulo ſaw too late that honeſty is too often the dupe of the ignoble mind. He ſcorned to expoſtulate. "I have deſerved this," he ſaid, and fell upon his ſword *(e)*.

The blood of one great man could not appeaſe the cruelty of Nero. Whoever was eminent for talents, riches, or nobility of birth, was conſidered as a ſtate-criminal. In that number were the two Scribonii, Rufus and Proculus, who had lived in perfect harmony, with mutual eſteem, and true brotherly affection. Their fortunes were a joint ſtock. They aſſiſted each other in the road to honours, and both together roſe to ſtations of high authority; one on the Upper, and the other on the Lower Rhine. While they diſcharged their reſpective duties with integrity, and unwearied zeal for the public ſervice, Pactius Africanus *(f)* was their ſecret enemy. This man had the ear of Nero, and knew how to transfuſe his own malignity into the heart of a prince too fatally prone to evil deeds. The virtues of the Scribonii were, by his artful miſrepreſentation, converted into crimes; the happy concord, in which they lived, was a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate;

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and their fame and credit in the German armies were the means of two ambitious politicians, not the end of their actions. By conciliating the good-will of the ſoldiers, they hoped to overturn the government. Nero took the alarm, and, under a ſpecious pretence of doing honour to the two brothers, invited them to his court. They obeyed his orders. As ſoon as they arrived in Greece, a new ſcene was opened. An audience was refuſed; they were forbid to appear in the emperor's preſence; ſuborned accuſations were preſented in form; and the unhappy brothers found themſelves in the ſad condition of ſtate-criminals. They deſired to be heard in their defence. That act of juſtice was denied. They knew, that, under a deſpotic prince, the interval between the opening of an accuſation and the cataſtrophe is always ſhort. They reſolved not to wait the tyrant's pleaſure, but to deliver themſelves with Roman fortitude from an ignominious death. They opened their veins, and expired together.

The fate of Craſſus *(g)*, who derived an illuſtrious lineage from Pompey the Great, and Craſſus the Triumvir, may be mentioned in this place. Hiſtorians have not fixed the time of his death with preciſion; but it is certain that he fell a victim to the cruelty of Nero. Craſſus, his father, with Scribonia, his mother, and a brother, who was named Cneius Pompeius Magnus, had been cut off by the emperor Claudius *(h)*. But the family, in the opinion of Aquileius Regulus, had not ſhed blood enough. That pernicious informer knew that to be accuſed, was to be condemned. He invented a charge of an atrocious nature, and Craſſus ſhared the fate of his murdered family. He left two brothers; the eldeſt, Craſſus Scribonianus; the youngeſt, the unfortunate Piſo, at that time a baniſhed man, but afterwards adopted by Galba *(k)*, too ſoon to fall from that dangerous eminence.

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During theſe bloody tragedies, the great buſineſs of piercing the iſthmus was not neglected. The work began at a place called Lechæum *(l)*, a ſea-port on the Ionian Sea. It went on with ſtrenuous exertion for a number of days. A trench was dug four ſtadia in length, which was computed to be a tenth part of the iſthmus. But the flame of diſcord was lighted up at Rome. A ſtorm was gathering in Gaul, and commotions ſhook every part of the empire. In that alarming conjuncture, Helius thought fit to leave his aſſociate Polycletus, as his vice-gerent at Rome, and he himſelf paſſed over into Greece. He met Nero at Corinth, and, by giving him, in ſtriking colours, a dreadful picture of the ſtate of affairs, enforced the neceſſity of returning to the capital. The grand enterpriſe was abandoned, and the Ionian and Ægean Seas were left to flow in the direction which nature had appointed. But ſtill there was an object that attracted Nero's fond regard. The time of celebrating the Iſthmian games was near at hand. His favourite paſſion hurried him to the place. The pugiliſt and the charioteer baniſhed from his mind all fear of plots and inſurrections. He thought of the crowns of victory, which he had obtained in every quarter. His heart expanded with joy, with ſelf-congratulation, and gratitude towards a people, who had declared him matchleſs and unrivalled in all the games and exerciſes throughout the country. It behoved ſo great a conqueror to leave a laſting monument of munificence, and imperial grandeur. Elate with pride, and touched with generous ſentiments, he reſolved to give Greece her liberty. With that deſign he repaired to the forum. Nor did he ſuffer his gracious intention to be uttered by the public cryer. Such a gift required the accents of his own heavenly voice. He aſcended the tribunal of harangues, and, having declared Greece a free country *(m)*, ſet ſail for Italy.

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XII. THE conſuls next in office were Galerius Trachalus and Silius Italicus. They were both men of genius; both addicted to ſtudy, and diſtinguiſhed by their extenſive literature. Trachalus *(a)* was an orator in great celebrity, always copious, and often ſublime. Silius Italicus *(b)* had alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the bar, but not with unblemiſhed reputation. He knew that, under Nero, to be the accuſer of innocence was the road to preferment; but he returned to the paths of virtue, and by his poetry, which he publiſhed afterwards, tranſmitted his name to poſterity. During his conſulſhip, Nero returned from Greece, to cloſe the ſcene of vice and folly. After a tempeſtuous voyage, he arrived at Naples, where the firſt diſplays of his genius had been ſeen in their dawn *(c)*. His fame was now in its meridian luſtre. The conqueror in the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Iſthmian games was to enter the city in triumph; and for this purpoſe the uſual avenues were not ſufficient. The occaſion required ſomething new and extraordinary. The cuſtom in Greece was to throw down part of the city-wall *(d)*, that the conqueror in the ſacred games might enter through the breach. Nero ordered an opening to be made for himſelf, and entered the city in a triumphal car, drawn by ſix milk-white horſes. The ſplendour of the day exceeded the triumph of Flamminius *(e)* or Mummius. They had obtained victories, and ſubdued a nation: but what Roman triumphed over the arts of Greece? Who, before Nero, was declared the beſt charioteer, and the fineſt player on the guitar? From Naples he went to Antium *(f)*, his native city, and there diſplayed the ſame pomp and ceremony. But Rome was the place where his pride was to appear in all its grandeur. A long proceſſion led the way. His crowns of victory in the various games glittered to the eye, and inſcriptions, in glaring letters, blazoned forth the fame of Nero, the firſt Roman who gained the prize of theatrical talents.

Feſtive

Feſtive ſongs, and thankſgiving hymns, were ſung, not to Jupiter *(h)*, the guardian god of Rome, but to Apollo, the deity of ſingers and harpers. The triumphal car, in which Auguſtus had been ſeen, was brought forth on the occaſion. That emperor, after all his victories, entered the city in triumph: Nero ſat in the ſame carriage, a coachman, and a player. Auguſtus was attended by Agrippa; Nero had by his ſide Diodorus, the muſician. The ſtreets reſounded with acclamations: Io! Victory! Victory in the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Iſthmian games! Io! the conqueror of Greece! Happy the people who heard that melodious voice! Victims were ſlain, incenſe roſe to heaven, and flowers *(i)* covered all the way.

Nero returned to his palace. Pomp and ſplendour were at an end; the ſcenes of vanity paſſed away, and he was left at leiſure to think, and to be wretched. Helius had told him that the conjuncture was big with danger. Plots, inſurrections, and conſpiracies filled his mind with dreadful apprehenſions. A conſpiracy *(k)*, beyond all queſtion, was actually formed, and ready to break out, had it not been diſcovered by a trifling accident. It happened that one of the conſpirators *(l)*, towards the cloſe of day, paſſed by the theatre. He ſaw, in one of the porticos, a man loaded with fetters, and in bitterneſs of heart bewailing his unhappy lot. Upon enquiry it was found, that he was to be led into the preſence of Nero, which he conſidered as ſure deſtruction. The conſpirator was touched with compaſſion. He drew nearer to the priſoner, and, to aſſuage his fears, whiſpered in his ear, "Have a good heart; live till to-morrow, and you will have "reaſon to thank me as your deliverer." Theſe were words of comfort to a wretch, who expected inſtant death. His hopes revived; ſuch welcome tidings filled him with delight and wonder; but wonder was the ſtrongeſt emotion. The novelty of an incident

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incident ſo unexpected fixed his attention. By what means was he to be delivered from impending ruin? Nothing but a dark conſpiracy could bring about ſuch an event. He reſolved to reveal all he knew. The merit of a diſcovery, made in time, would not only ſecure his life, but lead on to fortune. He deſired to be conducted to the prince. The conſpirator was immediately ſeized, and put to the torture. His courage was for ſome time undaunted, unſubdued. He denied the whole of the charge. But protracted miſery was too much to bear. His reſolution failed. The names of his accomplices were extorted by the violence of pain, and all were condemned to ſuffer. A ſcene of blood was laid, and Nero's ſuperſtition aſcribed the diſcovery of the plot to the miraculous interpoſition of the gods.

Having conquered his enemies, and ſecured the future tranquillity of his reign, he thought it time to give a looſe to his libidinous paſſions, and purſue his theatrical amuſements. For this purpoſe he removed to Naples, the place of perfect ſecurity, and the ſeat of pleaſure. His halcyon days were ſoon interrupted. A ſtorm had been for ſome time gathering in Gaul, and threatened at length to ſhake the empire to its foundation. There was in that part of the empire, a native of the country, deſcended from the kings of Aquitain, by name *(m)* Julius Vindex. His father had been raiſed by Claudius to the dignity of a ſenator, and the ſon was made governor of a province with the rank and powers of a Roman proprætor. This man, without an army under his command, and without any reſources, except what he found in his own perſonal courage, and the generous ardour of an independent ſpirit, undertook to free the world from bondage. He knew that an enterpriſe ſo bold and daring required the cooperation of the provinces of Gaul and the Roman legions. With that view, he ſent diſpatches to Galba *(n)*, at that time governor

governor of the nethermoſt Spain, and made him a tender of the imperial dignity. Galba deduced his pedigree from the ancient family of the Sulpicii: his mother, by her paternal line, was deſcended from Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth, and, by her mother's ſide, from Quintus Catulus, the pride and ornament of the old republic. He was conſul under Tiberius, in the year of Rome ſeven hundred and eighty. He commanded in Germany in the reign of Caligula, and, afterwards, under Claudius was proconſul of Africa. His illuſtrious birth, his military fame, and high credit with the legions in every army, pointed him out as the proper perſon to depoſe a prince, whoſe cruelty made him deteſtable, and whoſe folly rendered even tyranny itſelf ridiculous. Galba received the diſpatches ſent by Vindex with the frigid caution of a man far advanced in life. He was more than ſeventy years old, and that age is not the ſeaſon of ambition. To ſlide in quiet through the remainder of his days, ſeemed to be all that he deſired from fortune; but, under that outward calm, the ſparks of a dying paſſion were rekindled. And yet the enterpriſe propoſed to him was big with danger, and the iſſue doubtful. Prudence conſpired with indolence, and he remained ſilent and inactive. The governors of all the other provinces had been, in like manner, ſolicited to enter into the Gallic league: they hated Nero; but, inſtead of declaring open hoſtility, they thought it more adviſable to provide for their own ſafety, by ſending to Rome the letters which they had received from Vindex. Galba ſuppreſſed his in ſilence. Nero received the news with joy and exultation. His finances, he ſaid, were well nigh exhauſted, and the forfeited eſtates of the inſurgents would be ways and means by which he intended to fill his treaſury. He conſidered Galba's ſilence as a proof of guilt. Without further enquiry, he confiſcated all his property at Rome, and diſpatched aſſaſſins, with orders to put him to death.

Vindex,

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Vindex, in the mean time, exerted himſelf with unremitting vigour to rouſe the people of Gaul. He went to the various cities, and lighted up the flame of war in every quarter. He called a public convention of the ſtates, and harangued the aſſembly, in ſubſtance as follows *(o)*: "We live, he ſaid, not under laws, and civil government, but under the will of a ſingle "tyrant. Vice and cruelty lord it over mankind. The provinces groan under the yoke of oppreſſion; our houſes are "pillaged; our wives and daughters are violated, and our relations baſely murdered. Of all our miſery Nero is the author. "What crime ſo great that he has not dared to perpetrate? His "mother died by his murderous hand. That horrible parricide "makes the heart recoil; but Agrippina deſerved her fate. She "brought a monſter into the world. At length the meaſure of "his guilt is full. The eaſt is up in arms; Britain in commotion; and the legions in Spain and Germany are on the eve of "a revolt: and ſhall the nations of Gaul ſtand lingering in ſuſpenſe? What conſideration is there to reſtrain your ardour? "Shall the titles of Cæſar, of Auguſtus, of Prince, and Imperator "throw a falſe luſtre round a man, who has diſgraced his rank, "and made majeſty ridiculous? Theſe eyes, my friends, theſe "eyes have ſeen him a fidler, a mountebank, and a pantomime "actor. Inſtead of his imperial titles, call him Thyeſtes, Œdipus, Alcmæon, and Oreſtes. Thoſe names are ſuited to his "crimes. How long are we to ſubmit to ſuch a maſter? Our "forefathers took the city of Rome by ſtorm: and what was "their motive? In thoſe days the love of plunder was ſufficient "to provoke a war. We have a nobler cauſe; the cauſe of "public liberty. It is that, my friends, it is that glorious cauſe "that now invites us. Let us obey the call, and draw the "avenging ſword. The nations round us, fired with indignation, are ready to aſſert their rights. Let them not be the firſt

" to prove themſelves men. The enterpriſe has in it all that is " dear to man, all that is great in human nature; and ſhall we " not be the firſt to ſeize the glorious opportunity? Let us go " forth at once, and be the deliverers of the world."

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This ſpeech was received with ſhouts of applauſe. The deputies, inflamed with ardour in the cauſe of liberty, returned to their reſpective cities; a warlike ſpirit was kindled in the maſs of the people; a league was formed, and the din of arms was heard in every part of the country. Galba was informed of all that paſſed. He alſo knew that he was proſcribed by Nero, and that his effects were ſold by public auction. The tide of affairs ruſhed on with a ſwell that overpowered a mind by nature indolent, and enfeebled by age. In the number of Galba's friends Titus Vinius was the only perſon that endeavoured to rouſe his drooping ſpirit. To heſitate in ſuch a juncture appeared to him a privation of mind nothing ſhort of madneſs. The only queſtion, he ſaid, was, which was moſt eligible, to act in conjunction with Vindex, or to wage war againſt him? againſt a man who wiſhed to depoſe a tyrant, and call to the ſucceſſion a prince who poſſeſſed the virtues of humanity? Galba ſaw the neceſſity of taking a decided part, but his natural irreſolution was not eaſily conquered. He wiſhed to ſound the inclinations of the people, and, for that purpoſe, ſummoned a grand council to meet at New Carthage *(p)*, in order, as he pretended, to ſettle the manumiſſion of ſlaves. His friends knew that greater matters were in agitation, and, accordingly, ſpread a general alarm. On the day appointed, an incredible multitude aſſembled from all parts of the country. Galba aſcended the tribunal, prepared by a well-imagined artifice to ſpeak at once to the eye and the ear. The images of the moſt illuſtrious of both ſexes *(q)*, who had fallen a ſacrifice to Nero's cruelty, were ranged in regular order round

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round the council-chamber. The ſilent eloquence of that pathetic ſcene he knew would aſſiſt the orator, and inflame the paſſions of his audience. He began his harangue without the uſual approaches of a ſtudied introduction. The buſineſs was of the firſt importance, and he ruſhed into it at once, with warmth and vehemence. He painted forth the horrors of Nero's reign, the acts of oppreſſion that laid waſte the provinces, and the murders that thinned the nobleſt families. If proofs were neceſſary, he looked round the hall, and behold, he ſaid, "behold there in "glaring colours the evidence of the worſt iniquity. Judge not "of Nero by my words; view him with your own eyes. Thoſe "images inform againſt him. Lo! there the ghaſtly features of "the murdered Cæſars! You ſee Nero's mother, brother, and "ſiſter! his wife, his aunt, his neareſt relations! his wretched "friends! all butchered, all deſtroyed, by the ſword, by famine, "by poiſon, by every villany! Direct your eyes to yonder wall; "you there behold Burhas, Lateranus, Veſtinus, Caſſius, and "Lucius Vetus, with a long train of the firſt men in Rome! "They ſuffered for their talents and their virtues. Nor is this "all: think of your own native genius; call to mind the men, "born in Spain, who were the ornaments of Roman literature, "and an honour to their country. There lies Seneca *(r)*, the "enlightened philoſopher: he bleeds in a bath, and with his laſt "breath teaches the precepts of wiſdom! Your great poet, Lucan, whoſe boſom glowed with the love of freedom, repeats "his own immortal verſes, and expires: his father, Annæus "Mela, falls a victim, becauſe he was the brother of your great "philoſopher, and the father of ſuch a ſon. Survey that group: "you have there Pætus Thraſea, and Bareas Soranus, who were "virtue itſelf. See that train of illuſtrious women: Sextia, Pollutia, and Servilia, all led to execution. That boy is Rufinus "Criſpinus *(s)*, the ſon of Poppæa by her firſt huſband; and,

"not-

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" notwithſtanding his tender age and innocence, they daſh him " from a rock into the ſea. Behold this youth *(t)*, whom I " have brought before you from one of the Balearic iſlands, " where he was condemned to live in exile. He is too young " to know the nature of a crime, or his own wretched lot. Not " yet a citizen, and, behold! he is baniſhed from his country. " Theſe are the exploits of Nero. Vindex has undertaken to be " the deliverer of his country. For you, and all Spain, I am " willing to brave every danger. My commiſſion is from the " ſenate, and the Roman people. I diſclaim the authority of " Nero: to me he is no longer emperor. I know that by him " I am adjudged to death; but, if you reſolve to aſſert your " rights; if you make a common cauſe with me in that glorious " ſtruggle, I am willing to cloſe my days in your ſervice." This ſpeech inflamed the multitude with uncommon ardour. The place reſounded with acclamations, and Galba was ſaluted Emperor of Rome. His modeſty, or his prudence, made him decline that title. He deſired to be called the general of the ſenate and the Roman people.

During theſe tranſactions, Nero remained at Naples, ſtill addicted to his favourite amuſements, enchanting himſelf and the public with his harp, and chiefly intent on bringing to perfection an hydraulic organ *(u)*, on a new conſtruction, which he promiſed to produce on the ſtage. But that gay ſerenity was ſoon overcaſt. Advices arrived from Spain and Gaul. In the former, Galba had thrown off the maſk; in the latter, Vindex was at the head of a powerful army. Nero ſhuddered at the news; indignation ſoon ſucceeded; he threatened to puniſh the rebels with death; his frivolous paſſions took their turn; he went to ſee the athletic exerciſes, and tuned his guitar. In that manner he paſſed eight or ten days; no orders given; no letter

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to the ſenate; not a word eſcaped from him; he ſmothered all in ſullen ſilence. Freſh tidings arrived from Gaul; the proclamations, which Vindex publiſhed in every quarter, were delivered to him; he found himſelf called, in a ſtyle of contempt, *Oenobarbus (w), and a vile comedian.* Enraged at the indignity offered to his talents, he ſtarted up in a ſudden fury, overturned the banqueting-table, wrote to the ſenate to exert the ſtrength of the empire, and, to fire them with indignation, added in pathetic terms, "Judge yourſelves, conſcript fathers, judge of the inſo-"lence of Vindex; in his own words ſee the malignity of that "audacious rebel. He has dared impiouſly to ſay that I have a "bad voice, and play ill on the guitar." A complaint of that importance could not fail to make an impreſſion on the fathers. They paſſed a decree, declaring Galba a public enemy, and promiſing a reward of ten millions of ſeſterces for the head of Vindex. The Gaul, with ſuperior magnanimity, offered his own head *(x)* to whoever ſhould bring him that of Nero. If he freed the world from a monſter, he ſet no value on his own life; he then would die content.

Virginius Rufus, who, at that time, commanded on the Upper Rhine, had received orders to take the field againſt the rebels in Gaul. Whether that officer aſpired to the imperial dignity, ſeems to be a problem not ſolved by any of the hiſtorians. It is certain that the legions, ſeeing the miſeries occaſioned by Nero's tyranny, and at length diſguſted by the contemptible frolics of an emperor, who rendered it ridiculous to obey him, made a tender of the empire to their own general, whom they reſpected for his military talents, and the virtues of moderation. Virginius declined the offer. If he nouriſhed ambition in his heart, he thought it beſt to ſuppreſs it in that juncture, and wait for future events. It belonged, he ſaid, to the ſenate, and the ſenate only,

only, not to the legions, to diſpoſe of the ſovereignty. Whatever were his views, he ſtill retained a true Roman ſpirit, and, with indignation, ſaw a rebel chieftain and his conquered countrymen joined in a league to give an emperor to the miſtreſs of the world. He reſolved to collect his forces, and march in queſt of the enemy. Gaul was far from acting with a ſpirit of union. Internal diſſenſions divided the ſtates into contending factions. The Sequani *(y)*, the Ædui, and Arverni followed the banners of Vindex. The Lingones, and the people of Rheims, accuſtomed to ſlavery, and hating the oppoſite party, declared for Nero. The cities of Vienne and Lyons, which lay contiguous, renewed their ancient animoſity; the former liſting on the ſide of Vindex; the latter, with a pretended regard for their oath of fidelity, eſpouſing the cauſe of Nero. In that diſpoſition of the public mind, Virginius entered Gaul at the head of his legions, with a ſtrong reinforcement of Belgic auxiliaries, and the Batavian cohorts. He proceeded by rapid marches to Veſontium *(z)*, a city in league with Vindex. The inhabitants refuſed to open their gates. Virginius pitched his camp, determined to lay ſiege to the place. Vindex advanced to the relief of his confederates. The two armies were in ſight of each other. The Gallic chieftain, little doubting that the Roman general's opinion of Nero coincided with his own, thought it prudent, before he tried the iſſue of a battle, to negociate by his deputies. He accordingly made his overtures. Various meſſengers paſſed between the two commanders, and an interview at laſt took place. The reſult was an agreement of ſome kind, but what were the terms it is fruitleſs now to enquire. Hiſtory has left us in the dark. All that can be related with certainty is, that Virginius began to withdraw his forces, and Vindex with his army made his approach to the walls of the town. The legions ſaw the motions of the enemy, and, imagining that they meant

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meant to offer battle, reſolved to begin the attack. The armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine were not enured to diſcipline. Fierce, and diſdaining all controul, they wanted no orders from their general. A deſperate engagement followed. The Gauls were unprepared, but their courage braved every danger. Both ſides fought with impetuous fury; the Gauls reſenting the treachery of their enemies; the Romans ſtimulated by their inveterate animoſity. Blood and carnage covered all the plain. The legions cut their way with dreadful ſlaughter, till the Gauls, having loſt no leſs than twenty thouſand of their braveſt troops, and ſeeing inevitable deſtruction on every ſide, betook themſelves to flight. Vindex exerted himſelf in every quarter of the field to prevent the maſſacre: but his efforts were in vain. He ſaw the ſlaughter of his people, and concluded that Virginius had betrayed him, and the cauſe of liberty. His enterpriſe defeated, and no hopes of conqueſt left, he reſolved not to ſurvive a calamity ſo unexpected. He fell upon his ſword, and died on the field of battle.

Meanwhile, all Spain was in commotion. Galba was employed in ſchemes of future grandeur. He raiſed a new legion, muſtered forces in all quarters, and with his utmoſt art and induſtry allured the different ſtates to his intereſt. Cornelius Fuſcus, a young man of illuſtrious birth, went over to Galba, and drew with him the province of which he was governor. But the great acceſſion of ſtrength was from Luſitania. Otho, who had been the favourite of Nero, and his conſtant companion in all his ſcenes of riot and debauchery, had been for ſome years at the head of that province. He was appointed to that ſtation, as the reader may remember *(aa)*, under colour of doing him honour; but, in fact, to remove a rival, whom Nero dreaded, and to leave him at a diſtance from Rome, in a ſtate of honourable baniſhment.

baniſhment. Otho conſidered himſelf as no better than a ſtate priſoner, in a remote part of the empire. Reſentment prompted him to revenge; and ambition like his was eager to come forth from obſcurity, and act a principal part on the great ſtage of public buſineſs. He melted down all his maſſy gold and ſilver; and, having converted it into coin, went with his whole treaſure, and the forces of his province, to ſupport the enterpriſe of an old man, who he knew, in the courſe of nature, could not long enjoy the ſupreme authority. The other governors and proprætors followed his example. The Roman empire ſeemed to be transferred to Spain. Nero was at laſt ſenſible of his danger. He ordered the legions in Illyricum to advance by rapid marches into Italy; he recalled the troops that had been ſent againſt the Albanians to the borders of the Caſpian Sea; and he expected the fourteenth legion, then in Britain, to come without loſs of time to his aſſiſtance. Diſtracted by the news that filled all Italy, he forgot his hydraulic organ, and returned to Rome, covered with conſternation. His fears were ſoon diſperſed. Letters from Virginius Rufus arrived at Rome. The death of Vindex, and the total overthrow of his army, tranſported Nero beyond all bounds of joy. He called for his muſical inſtruments; he tuned his harp, and warbled ſongs of triumph.

In Spain, the minds of men were affected in a very different manner. Galba ſaw an unexpected reverſe of fortune. He blamed his own imprudence, and accuſed the folly of an old man, who, at the cloſe of life, was weak enough to liſten to the call of ambition. To try, if poſſible, to retrieve his affairs, he ſent diſpatches to Virginius Rufus, inviting him to a participation of councils and of future grandeur. The offer was rejected. It was a maxim with Rufus, that the ſenate and people had the ſole

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ſole right of creating an emperor. The civil power, he ſaid, in every well conſtituted government, ought to be ſupreme; to obey is the virtue of a ſoldier. Galba had no reſource left. Half his cavalry ſhewed themſelves alienated from his ſervice, and were retained with difficulty. Dejected, hopeleſs, and expecting certain deſtruction from the aſſaſſins employed by Nero, he retired to the city of Clunia *(bb)*, and there relapſed into his former indolence.

XIII. NERO was now at the ſummit of his wiſhes. He triumphed in the pride of his imagination over all his enemies. He had ſeen on his way from Naples a monumental ſculpture, repreſenting a Gaul *(a)* overcome by a Roman ſoldier, and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head. The gods, he ſaid, preſented that object to him as an omen of victory, and their decree was happily fulfilled. Amidſt all his frantic joy, his worſt enemies were in his own breaſt. His vices were undermining him with the army as well as the people. He raiſed immoderate ſupplies of money, and ſquandered the whole with wild profuſion. An occurrence happened, by which the city was thrown into a violent ferment. A ſhip arrived from Alexandria, ſuppoſed to be loaded with corn, and, therefore, matter of joy to the populace, who dreaded a dearth of proviſions. It may be eaſily imagined what a turn their paſſions took, when it was known that the veſſel brought a freight of ſand *(b)* from the banks of the Nile, to ſmooth the arena for wreſtlers and gladiators. The diſappointment excited, at firſt, a laugh of ſcorn and indignation; vulgar wit and ſcurrilous jeſts made Nero an object of contempt; and from contempt the tranſition to hatred, rage and fury is always ſure, and often inſtantaneous. The public clamour was loud and violent: the people, with one voice, wiſhed to be delivered from a monſter; they lamented the

the loſs of Vindex; and the prætorian guards, who had been the ſupport of a pernicious reign, began to murmur diſcontent, and to ſhew manifeſt ſymptoms of diſaffection.

Nymphidius and Tigellinus *(c)*, who had often figured in ſcenes of public iniquity, were joint præfects of the prætorian camp. The former, as has been mentioned, was the ſon of a woman who proſtituted her perſon to the ſlaves and freedmen of the emperor Claudius. Having recommended himſelf by his vices to the favour of Nero, he had the ambition to be thought the iſſue of an intrigue between his mother, Nymphidia, and Caligula. Nymphidius and his colleague Tigellinus acted in concert, and jointly exerted their pernicious talents. They ſaw the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, and, with the ingratitude of men who had raiſed themſelves by their crimes, thought the opportunity fair to ſtrike a ſtroke of perfidy. They began by bribes to inſinuate themſelves into the affections of the prætorian guards, and, when they had ſufficiently prepared them for a revolt, whiſpered to the ſenate, that Nero was deſerted on every ſide; that he had not a friend left; and that, by conſequence, the whole legiſlative authority was in the hands of the fathers. That aſſembly remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe; timid, wavering, and irreſolute. The conjuncture was dark and gloomy. Nero was alarmed; he pauſed from his pleaſures, and ſaw that ſome deep deſign was in agitation. To prevent it by one bold effort, he formed a reſolution to maſſacre the ſenate, and, after ſetting fire to the city a ſecond time, to let looſe his whole collection of wild beaſts, to devour the people in the general conſternation, and ſave himſelf by flying into Egypt. This horrible ſcheme was no ſooner conceived than brought to light by one of his favourite eunuchs. This miſcreant had been, for ſome time, ſubſervient to the vices of his maſter, and lived with him in the

 deareſt

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deareſt intimacy. From a perſon ſo beloved nothing was concealed. He was the confidential friend of the emperor, not only in ſcenes of riot, but alſo in the moſt important councils. But the jealouſy of an upſtart, raiſed above his baſe condition, is eaſily alarmed. The favourite *(d)* thought himſelf ſlighted. His pride was rouſed, and, to revenge the injury, he diſcovered the particulars of the intended maſſacre.

A deſign ſo black and horrible raiſed the general indignation. The fathers trembled for themſelves, but the habit of ſlavery had debaſed their faculties. They ſaw that no time was to be loſt, and yet could not reſolve to act with vigour. Nymphidius tried by every means to inſpire them with zeal and courage. He had ſeduced the prætorian guards, and, to ſecure their affections, promiſed in Galba's name, but without his authority, a reward of thirty thouſand ſeſterces to each prætorian, and five thouſand to each legionary ſoldier throughout the armies of the empire; a ſum ſo prodigious, that, as Plutarch obſerves, it could not be raiſed without worſe tyranny, and more violent rapine, than had been felt during the whole reign of Nero. The promiſe proved, afterwards, fatal to Galba, but ſerved the purpoſes of a man, who was bent on the ruin of Nero, and, by raiſing the military above the civil authority, intended to introduce into the political ſyſtem, two pernicious maxims; the firſt, that emperors were to be created in the camp, not in the ſenate; and, ſecondly, that the imperial dignity was venal, to be, for the future, ſet up to ſale, and diſpoſed of by the ſoldiers to the higheſt bidder.

Having ſettled his meaſures, and laid the plan of a revolution, he did not as yet think it time to throw off the maſk, but, to complete his work, choſe to proceed by fraud and diſſimulation. He went with Tigellinus to the palace, and, with an air of deep affliction,

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affliction, informed Nero of his danger. "All," he ſaid, "is loſt; "the people, aſſembled in ſeditious tumults, call aloud for ven- "geance; the prætorian guards abandon your cauſe; and the "ſenate is ready to pronounce a dreadful judgment. You have "only one expedient left, and that is, to make your eſcape, and "ſeek a retreat in Egypt." In this manner the two men, who had been raiſed from the dregs of the people, left their benefactor. In all his ſcenes of vice and cruelty they had been his chief abettors, and they now abandoned him at his utmoſt need.

Nero ſaw the ſad reverſe of his affairs. From his armies he could expect no ſupport. The troops on their march towards the Caſpian ſea had been recalled, but a long repoſe was neceſſary to revive the ſpirits of men well nigh exhauſted by inceſſant fatigue. The legions from Illyricum returned with alienated minds. Scorning to diſguiſe their ſentiments, they ſent a deputation to Virginius on the Upper Rhine, expreſſing their ardent deſire, that he would yield to the requeſt of the legions under his command, and accept the imperial dignity. Eight Batavian cohorts had ſhewn a ſpirit of diſaffection, and the prætorian guards were under the influence of Nymphidius. In this deſperate ſituation Nero looked round for aſſiſtance, but he looked in vain. He wandered through the apartments of his palace, and all was ſolitude. He, who but a few days before was the god of the ſenate and the people, was now in dread of being their victim. Conſcience began to exerciſe her rights. Her voice was heard; Nero reviewed his crimes, and ſhuddered with horror and remorſe. He repeated in deſpair and anguiſh of heart, a line, which, when perſonating Œdipus, he had often declaimed on the public ſtage *(e)*: "My wife, my father, and "my mother doom me dead." Of all his courtier-fry, and all

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his inſtruments of guilt, not one adhered to him in the hour of diſtreſs, except Sporus, the eunuch; Phaon *(f)*, an enfranchiſed ſlave; and Epaphroditus, his ſecretary. He gave orders to the ſoldiers on duty, to proceed with all expedition to Oſtia, and prepare a ſhip, that he might embark for Egypt. The men were not willing to obey. One of them aſked him in half a line *(g)* from Virgil, "Is it then ſo wretched a thing to die?" He went to the Servilian gardens, carrying with him a vial of ſwift-ſpeeding poiſon, which had been prepared by the well-known *(h)* Locuſta; but his reſolution failed. He returned to his chamber, and threw himſelf on his bed. The agitations of his mind allowed no reſt. He ſtarted up, and called for ſome friendly hand to end his wretched being. That office no one was willing to perform, and he himſelf wanted fortitude. Driven to the laſt deſpair, and frantic with remorſe and fear, he cried out in doleful accents, "My friends deſert me, and I cannot find an "enemy." He ruſhed forth from his palace, as if with intent to throw himſelf into the Tiber. He changed his mind, and thought of flying into Spain, there to ſurrender at diſcretion to the mercy of Galba. But no ſhip was ready at Oſtia. Various projects preſented themſelves to his mind, in quick ſucceſſion, increaſing the tumult of his paſſions, and ſerving only to diſtract him more. To try his powers of eloquence was another expedient that occurred to him. For that purpoſe he propoſed to go forth in a mourning garb to the forum, and there, by a pathetic ſpeech, obtain his pardon from the people. Should their obdurate hearts remain impenetrable to the ſoft influence of perſuaſive oratory, and refuſe to reinſtate their emperor in the full enjoyment of his prerogative, he had no doubt but he could, at the worſt, wring from them the government of Egypt, where, in the character of præfect, he might give free ſcope to his inordinate paſſions. This project ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs; but a

ray

ray of reflection ſtruck him with ſudden horror. The populace, without waiting to hear the divine accents of that harmonious voice, might break out into open ſedition, and in their fury tear their prince limb from limb. What courſe could he purſue? Where could he hide himſelf? He looked round in wild deſpair, and aſked his remaining companions, Is there no lurking-place? no ſafe receſs, where I may have time to conſider what is to be done? Phaon, his freedman, propoſed to conduct him to an obſcure villa *(i)*, which he held in his poſſeſſion, at the diſtance of about four miles from Rome.

Nero embraced the offer. There was no time to be loſt. He went forth in all his wretchedneſs; without a ſhoe to his feet; nothing on him but his cloſe tunic; no outſide garment; and no imperial robe. In order to diſguiſe himſelf, he ſnatched an old ruſty cloak, and, throwing it over his ſhoulders, covered his head, and held a handkerchief before his face. In that condition he mounted his horſe, ſubmitting with a daſtard ſpirit to an ignominious flight, without any attendants except Phaon, the freedman; Epaphroditus, the ſecretary; and Sporus, the eunuch, with another, whoſe name Aurelius Victor ſays was Neophytus. In this manner Nero paſſed the laſt of his nights. At the dawn of day, the prætorian guards deſerted their ſtation at the palace, and joined their comrades in the camp, where, by the influence and direction of Nymphidius, Galba was proclaimed emperor. The ſenate met, and, after a ſhort debate, confirmed the nomination of the prætorian guards. The time was at length arrived, when that aſſembly could act with authority. They reſolved to mark the day by a decree worthy of a Roman ſenate. With one voice they declared the tyrant, who had trampled on all laws human and divine, a public enemy *(k)*, and, by their ſentence, condemned

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condemned him to ſuffer death, according to the rigour of ancient laws, and the practice of the old republic.

XIV. NERO, in the mean time, made the beſt of his way towards the freedman's villa. He heard the prætorian camp ring with acclamations, and the name of Galba ſounded in his ear. A man at work in a field adjoining to the road, ſtarted up at the ſound of horſemen preſſing forward with expedition, and behold! he ſaid, "Thoſe people are hot in purſuit of Nero." Another aſked, "What do they ſay of Nero in the city?" As they drew near to Phaon's houſe, Nero was alarmed by a ſudden accident. His horſe ſtarted at a dead carcaſs that lay on the ſide of the road; and the veil, in conſequence of the violent motion, falling from his face, a veteran, who had been diſmiſſed from the ſervice, knew his maſter, and ſaluted him by his name. The fear of being detected made the fugitive prince and his followers puſh forward with their utmoſt ſpeed. Being arrived at a ſmall diſtance from the houſe, they did not think it ſafe to enter it in a public manner. Nero diſmounted, and croſſed a field overgrown with reeds *(l)*. Phaon adviſed him to lie concealed in a ſand-pit, till he prepared a ſubterraneous paſſage into the houſe. That, ſaid Nero, were to bury myſelf alive. He ſcooped up ſome water out of a muddy ditch, and, having allayed his thirſt, aſked in a doleful tone, "Is that the beverage "to which Nero has been uſed?" An opening was made in the wall on one ſide of the manſion, and Nero crept through it. He was conducted to a chamber, where he ſaw nothing but wretchedneſs. In that mean room he threw himſelf on a meaner bed *(m)*, and aſked for ſome nouriſhment. They offered him bread; but it was ſo black, that his ſtomach ſickened at the ſight. The water was foul, but thirſt obliged him to ſwallow the nauſeous draught. His friends ſaw that no hope

was

was left; they dreaded his impending ruin, and adviſed him to reſcue himſelf by one manly deed from an ignominious death. Nero ſignified his aſſent; but he ſtudied delay, fond to linger ſtill in life. Preparations for his funeral were neceſſary. He ordered a trench to be dug, ſuited to the dimenſions of his body *(n)*; a quantity of wood to be collected for the funeral pile; and pieces of marble to be brought to form a decent covering for his grave. He bewailed his unhappy lot; tears guſhed at intervals; he heaved a piteous ſigh, and ſaid to his friends *(o)*, "What a muſician the world will loſe!"

During this ſcene of delay and cowardice, a meſſenger, according to Phaon's orders, arrived with papers from Rome. Nero ſeized the packet. He read with eagerneſs, and found himſelf, not only declared a public enemy, but condemned to ſuffer death, with the rigour of ancient uſage. He aſked, What kind of death is that? and what is ancient uſage? He was told, that, by the law of the old republic, every traitor, with his head faſtened between two ſtakes, and his body entirely naked, ſuffered the pains of a ſlow death under the lictor's rod. The fear of that ignominious puniſhment inſpired Nero with a ſhort-lived paſſion, which for the moment had the appearance of courage. He drew two daggers, which he had brought with him, and, as if meditating ſome prodigious deed, tried the points of both; then calmly replaced them in their ſcabbards, ſaying, "The fatal "moment is not yet come." He turned to Sporus, and requeſted him to begin the funeral lamentation. "Sing the me-"lancholy dirge; and offer the laſt obſequies to your friend." He caſt his eyes around him: And why, he ſaid, why will not ſome one diſpatch himſelf, and teach me how to die? He pauſed for a moment, and ſhed a flood of tears. He ſtarted up, and cried out, in a tone of wild deſpair, "Nero, this is infamy; you

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" linger in diſgrace; this is no time for dejected paſſions; the " moment calls for manly fortitude."

Thoſe words were no ſooner uttered, than he heard the ſound of horſes advancing with ſpeed towards the houſe. This he ſignified by repeating a line from Homer *(p)*. The fact was, the ſenate had given orders, that he ſhould be brought back to Rome to undergo the judgment which they had pronounced, and the officers, charged with that commiſſion, were near at hand. Nero ſeized his dagger, and ſtabbed himſelf in the throat. The ſtroke was too feeble. Epaphroditus lent his aſſiſtance, and the next blow was a mortal wound. A centurion entered the room, and, ſeeing Nero in a mangled condition, ran immediately to his aſſiſtance, pretending that he came with a friendly hand to bind the wound, and ſave the emperor's life. Nero had not breathed his laſt. He raiſed his languid eyes, and faintly ſaid, " You " come too late: is this your fidelity *(q)*? He ſpoke, and expired. The ferocity of his nature was ſtill viſible in his countenance. His eyes fixed and glaring, and every feature ſwelled with warring paſſions, he looked more ſtern, more grim, and terrible than ever.

Nero died in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, on the eleventh day of June, after a reign of thirteen years, ſeven months, and twenty-eight days *(r)*. The news was received at Rome with all demonſtrations of joy. The populace ran wild about the ſtreets, with the cap of liberty on their heads *(s)*. The forum ſounded with acclamations. Icelus, a freedman, who managed Galba's affairs at Rome, had been thrown into priſon by Nero; but, on the ſudden acceſſion of his maſter, he was now become a man in power and high authority. He conſented that Nero's body ſhould be committed to the flames at the place where he

he died. The funeral rites were performed without delay, and without pomp. His remains were conveyed to the monumental vault of the Domitian family, his paternal anceſtors. The urn was carried by two female ſervants, and Acte *(t)*, the famous concubine. The ſecrecy, with which the obſequies were performed, was the cauſe of ſome untoward conſequences, that afterwards diſturbed the commonwealth. A doubt remained in the minds of many, whether Nero had not made his eſcape into Aſia or Egypt. The men, who, under a corrupt and profligate reign, had led a life of pleaſure, and were, by conſequence, enamoured of Nero's vices, paid every mark of reſpect to his memory, willing, at the ſame time, to believe that he ſtill ſurvived. They raiſed a tomb, and, for ſeveral years *(u)*, dreſſed it with the flowers of ſpring and ſummer. The Parthians honoured his memory, and, being afterwards deluded by an impoſtor, who aſſumed the name of Nero, were ready, with the ſtrength of their nation *(w)*, to eſpouſe his cauſe. The race of Cæſars ended with Nero: he was the laſt, and perhaps the worſt, of that illuſtrious houſe.

XV. In that age, when the public mind was overcaſt with gloomy apprehenſions and religious fear, ſuperſtition ſaw portents and prodigies *(a)* in the moſt common accidents, and no great event was ſuffered to paſs without a train of awful prognoſtics. Rivers were ſaid to have changed their courſe, and to have flowed in a new direction to their fountain-head; a tree, that had ſtood for ages, coeval with the foundation of Rome, fell ſuddenly to the ground; the laurel planted by Livia, which had ſpread with ſuch prodigious increaſe, that in every triumph it ſupplied the Cæſars with their victorious wreaths, withered at the root; the temple of the Cæſars being ſtruck with lightning, the heads of all the ſtatues tumbled down at once; and the

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marble ſceptre fell from the hands of Auguſtus. By theſe and ſuch like denunciations the will of the gods was ſuppoſed to be revealed, and the populace with frantic joy hailed the auſpicious æra of returning liberty. But no public ſpirit remained; every virtue was extinguiſhed. A people who had been taught to crouch under the yoke of bondage, thought no more of a free conſtitution. With the uſual inconſtancy of a fickle multitude, they relapſed into their habitual ſervitude, and in a ſtrain of frantic rapture began to roar for a new maſter. The name of Galba echoed through the ſtreets of Rome, and filled the prætorian camp with ſhouts of joy, and the warmeſt expreſſions of zeal and ardour for his ſervice. The prætorian guards thought of nothing but the donative promiſed in his name; and Nymphidius, the author of that meaſure, had no doubt but the ſoldiers, in due time, would ſhew themſelves devoted to the man, who filled their minds with the dazzling proſpect of a reward ſo truly great and magnificent. The liberality was his, and the difficulty of carrying it into execution would fall on Galba.

Icelus, the favourite freedman of Galba, made it his buſineſs to ſee Nero's dead body, and, having enabled himſelf to be an eye-witneſs of the fact, ſet out for Clunia in Spain *(b)*, to inform his maſter, that he was raiſed to the imperial ſeat by the voice of the prætorians, and the concurrent decree of the ſenate. Nymphidius ſeized the opportunity to figure as the principal actor on the theatre of public buſineſs. He had accompliſhed a great and ſudden revolution, and, being high in favour with the prætorian guards, found it eaſy to overawe the ſenate, and make that tame and pliant aſſembly bend to his will and pleaſure. The conſuls, without conſulting the arrogant miniſter, ſent their diſpatches to Galba, with the decree by which he was declared emperor. This was conſidered by this new man as a mark

mark of diſreſpect *(c)*, and it was with difficulty that the magiſtrates appeaſed his indignation. Fluſhed with ſucceſs, and proud of his exploits, he began to enlarge his views, and preposterouſly to form ſchemes of vaſt ambition. Under an emperor at the age of ſeventy-three *(d)*, worn out with cares, and weary of public buſineſs, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, under the appearance of being the ſecond in the ſtate, to wreſt into his own hands the ſupreme authority; and, ſhould Galba's infirmities ſink under the fatigue of a long journey, he had the hardineſs to aſpire to the ſucceſſion. Having conceived this mad project, he reſolved to remove every obſtacle, and, with that view, compelled Tigellinus to reſign his commiſſion *(e)* of prætorian præfect. A colleague, acting with himſelf in joint authority, might retard the execution of his deſigns. Men of conſular rank, who had commanded armies and governed provinces, did not bluſh to pay their court to him. The ſenate *(f)* acted with the ſame ſervile adulation. They crowded to his levee, and ſuffered him to preſcribe the form and ſubſtance of every decree that paſſed. The populace broke out with licentious fury, and Nymphidius, effectually to ſeduce the vulgar mind, encouraged the madneſs of the times. The images and ſtatues of Nero were dragged through the ſtreets, and daſhed to pieces. A crew of vile incendiaries ſpread conſternation through the city; a ſcene of blood and maſſacre followed *(g)*, and the innocent fell in one promiſcuous carnage with the guilty. Mauricus beheld the phrenſy of the multitude with ſuch inward horror, that he could not help ſaying in the ſenate, "Let us take care that we "have not reaſon to regret the loſs of Nero *(h)*."

Nymphidius ſoon perceived that his hopes of being the only ſtateſman in power, and of governing the Roman world in the emperor's name, could not be entertained with any proſpect

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of ſucceſs. He knew by certain intellgence that Vinius, Laco, and Icelus were the men *(i)* who ſtood higheſt in the eſteem of Galba. The ſcheme of ſupplanting them was, therefore, abandoned; but it made way for a project of the moſt daring ambition. He was reſolved to depoſe the emperor, whom he himſelf had created, and, by another revolution, to ſeize the imperial dignity. To forward this deſign, he ſent diſpatches to Galba *(k)*, ſtating the danger of entering the city at a time when the whole empire was in convulſions. Rome, he ſaid, was in a ferment; Clodius Macer excited a rebellion in Africa; the German armies were diſaffected, and the legions in Syria and Judæa prepared to diſpute with the prætorian guards the right of creating an emperor. In the mean time a dark conſpiracy was formed. Nymphidius planned his meaſures with diſpatch and vigour, determined to ſeize the ſupreme power. He drew into his league a number of both ſexes, all of great conſideration, and extenſive influence. Claudius Celſus was his intimate friend; but he ſaw the folly of the enterpriſe, and with freedom and ſincerity adviſed Nymphidius to deſiſt from a wild attempt, in which he could not expect the ſupport of the people or the ſenate. There is not, he ſaid, a ſingle family in Rome, willing to give the name of Cæſar *(l)* to the ſon of Nymphidia. That remonſtrance had no effect on a mind inflamed with the fever of wild ambition. Nymphidius called a meeting of his party. All agreed that no time was to be loſt. They reſolved to ſtrike the blow that very night, and to conduct Nymphidius to the prætorian camp, where they had no doubt but with one voice he would be declared emperor of Rome. On ſuch an occaſion it was neceſſary that the perſon raiſed to that elevation ſhould be prepared to addreſs the ſoldiers, in a ſuitable ſtyle. Cingonius Varro *(m)*, a corrupt and venal orator, compoſed a ſpeech for that purpoſe, and the illiterate emperor was to grace himſelf with borrowed eloquence.

The

The deſign of the conſpirators was not ſo well concealed, but it reached the ear of Antonius Honoratus *(n)*, a tribune in the camp, who had acquired a great military character, and was, beſides, reſpected for his unblemiſhed honour, and unſhaken fidelity. Towards the cloſe of day, he called a meeting of the prætorians, and, after laying open, in detail, all the circumſtances of the plot, delivered a ſpeech in ſubſtance as follows *(o)*:

" How long, my fellow ſoldiers, ſhall our folly, our madneſs, " or our evil genius, hurry us on from one treaſon to another? " A few days only have elapſed, ſince you depoſed Nero. In " that buſineſs you behaved like men, who felt for the public " good. You had every provocation, and the crimes of that " flagitious tyrant juſtified the act. You are recent from that " revolution, and wherefore do you want another? You de- " clared for Galba, and why now abandon him? Why with " unheard of treachery betray the emperor, whom you your- " ſelves created? Has he been guilty of parricide? Has he " murdered his mother, and deſtroyed his wife? Has he ex- " poſed the imperial dignity to contempt and ridicule? Has he " tuned his harp on the ſtage, or driven a curricle in the race? " And yet, notwithſtanding all the flagitious deeds of that " hardened monſter, in ſpite of all his vices, we ſupported him, " bluſhing indeed for his follies, and ſmarting under his tyranny. " We adhered to him with fidelity; and if, in the end, we " thought fit to create another emperor, Nymphidius was the " author of that meaſure. By his artifices we were taught to " believe that Nero deſerted us firſt, and fled to Egypt. We " concluded that he had abdicated, and, by conſequence, what " we did, was an act of neceſſity. And what is our deſign at " preſent? What do we wiſh? What do we aim at? Muſt " Galba fall a ſacrifice to appeaſe the manes of Nero? Shall a " deſcendant from the family of the Servii; a relation of Quin-

" tus

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" tus Catulus, and by ties of affinity connected with Livia *(p)*,
" the wife of Auguſtus; ſay, my fellow ſoldiers, ſhall ſuch a
" man be depoſed and murdered, to make way for the ſon of
" Nymphidia? It was his treachery, his baſe ingratitude that
" occaſioned the death of Nero: let him ſuffer the juſtice due
" to his crime; and let us give proof of our fidelity. Let us
" deſerve the eſteem of Galba, by delivering him from a
" traitor."

This ſpeech made an impreſſion on the ſoldiers. One mind, one ſentiment pervaded the whole camp; Galba was their emperor, and they would acknowledge no other. This was followed by a general ſhout. Nymphidius heard the ſound, and proceeded to the camp *(q)*. Whether he thought that the acclamations of the men were in his favour, or that his preſence was neceſſary to quell an inſurrection, cannot now be known. He went attended by a numerous train, and a blaze of torches, with the ſpeech compoſed for him by Cingonius Varro, ready in his hand to be read aloud to the ſoldiers. The gates of the camp were ſhut, and guards were ſtationed on the ramparts. Nymphidius deſired to know, by whoſe order they were under arms? The men anſwered with one voice, We are armed in the cauſe of Galba, and we know no other emperor. Nymphidius had not the prudence to retire from the walls. Diſſimulation he thought would cloak his deſign. He commended the zeal of the prætorians, and aſſured them that he, and his followers, were the avowed friends of Galba. The ſentinels opened the gates. Nymphidius entered with ſome of his friends: the paſs was immediately ſecured; and the ſoldiers attacked him ſword in hand. He endeavoured to ſave himſelf in a tent, but was purſued, and maſſacred on the ſpot. His body, on the following day, was dragged through the camp, a ſpectacle for public view. Such

was

was the end of a low-born baſe incendiary, who ſaw, that, in the general profligacy of the times, the weak were the willing dupes of the wicked. By forming a league with the moſt abandoned, he flattered himſelf, that the loweſt of mankind, who in better times could not hope to be entruſted with the rank of a common centurion, might boldly aſpire to make himſelf maſter of the Roman empire.

XVI. An account of all that paſſed was conveyed to Galba with incredible ſpeed. By his order, all, who were ſuſpected of taking a part in the mad projects of Nymphidius, were ſeized, and, without further enquiry, or any form of trial, put to death. Cingonius Varro, at that time conſul elect, was in the number; and, what was very extraordinary, Mithridates *(a)*, the dethroned king of Pontus, who had ſurrendered to Claudius, and from that time lived at Rome, was hurried to execution, without being heard in his defence. Petronius Turpilianus *(b)* was another unhappy victim. He had been choſen by Nero to command his armies; and, though he never went from Rome to execute his commiſſion, the very appointment was deemed a ſufficient crime. Theſe bloody executions were inauſpicious in the opening of a new reign. The cruelty of Nero ſeemed to be renewed, when the people expected a milder government, and a regular adminiſtration of law and juſtice. The fate of Turpilianus filled the city with murmurs of diſcontent. It was known that Tigellinus preſided at the execution; and that a man of worth and honour ſhould bleed under the eye of a deteſted miſcreant, appeared to be a continuation of the late reign, and the triumph of vice over every virtue.

Galba ſet out from Spain, proceeding by ſlow marches, and ſtill wearing the military robe of a general officer, with a dagger *(c)* hanging

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hanging from his neck down to his breaſt. Strong ſuſpicion, a ſenſe of injuries, and dark miſtruſt, with other paſſions unworthy of a prince, lay lurking in his heart. Before he began his journey, Obultronius Sabinus *(d)*, and Cornelius Marcellus, two governors of provinces in Spain, who had ſhewn no inclination to his party, were put to death by his order. Betuus Chilo met with the ſame fate in Gaul. Diſpatches were alſo ſent to Garrucianus, in Africa, commanding the immediate execution of Clodius Macer *(e)*, the proprætor of the province, who was known to have concerted meaſures for a revolt. It happened, however, that Calvia Criſpinilla *(f)*, the famous manager of Nero's pleaſures, arrived in Africa, and inſinuated herſelf into the ſecret councils of the governor. By her advice he formed a reſolution to eſtabliſh for himſelf a new province independent of Rome. Their ſcheme, for that purpoſe, was to lay an embargo on all ſhips loaded with corn, in order to afflict the city of Rome with all the miſeries of famine. A legion was alſo raiſed; and Macer, at the head of a conſiderable army, was on the eve of renouncing all ſubjection to Rome, when Papirius, a centurion ſent by order of Galba, gained acceſs to his preſence, and ſtabbed him to the heart.

Fonteius Capito *(g)*, who commanded the legions on the Lower Rhine, was put to death about the ſame time. It was this officer that ſent Julius Civilis *(h)* a priſoner to Rome, during the reign of Nero. The charge was without foundation, and, in time, was the fatal cauſe of the deſtructive war, in which Rome was involved by the fierce reſentment of that warlike chief. Avarice was the vice of Capito. He was in haſte to grow rich, and felt no ſcruple about the means. Ambition was laid to his charge, but an unguarded expreſſion was the only evidence againſt him. It happened that he ſat in judgment on a ſoldier,

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ſoldier accuſed of a capital crime, and condemned him to ſuffer death. "Know, ſaid the priſoner, that I appeal to Cæſar." Capito roſe, and, placing himſelf on a higher ſeat, told the man, "Now appeal to Cæſar: make your defence in his preſence." The ſoldier obeyed, and was ſent to execution. This tranſaction was reported to Fabius Valens *(i)*, who commanded a legion in the Lower Germany; an officer of acknowledged ability, intrepid, active, and ambitious; eager in the purſuit of honours, and panting to ſignalize himſelf by ſome bold exploit. The opportunity now occurred, and he reſolved to ſeize it. Criſpinus, a centurion *(k)*, was devoted to his ſervice. In that man he found a ready aſſaſſin, and Fonteius Capito fell a victim. The death of that commander Valens concluded would be conſiderable merit with the new emperor. He loſt no time, but ſent an expreſs to inform Galba of what he had done, with zeal, for the ſervice of his ſovereign. He added, in the ſame letter, that the legions on the Upper Rhine had made a tender of the empire to Virginius Rufus, who remained in ſuſpenſe, and, with affected delays, heſitated about his final anſwer. Galba received the news of Capito's death with ſecret ſatisfaction, but he thought it more prudent to connive, than openly to approve. Virginius was ſtill a dangerous rival. In order to draw him away from the army, and free himſelf from all danger in that quarter, he invited him to an amicable interview, having ſecretly appointed Hordeonius Flaccus to ſucceed to the command of the legions. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The conqueror of Vindex went to the meeting, and found himſelf the dupe of pretended friendſhip. He met with a cold reception, very different from what was due to the man who wiſhed to eſtabliſh the civil authority, and to place the legiſlative power of the ſtate in the ſenate only. He lived to be a ſpectator of the diſtractions and calamities that followed; and,

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A. U. C. 821. A. D. 72.

that he was not an actor in thoſe ſcenes of blood and horror *(l)*, was the recompenſe of uncommon virtue.

Galba had no further reaſon to be alarmed. He ſaw the armies of Rome willing to acquieſce, and peace in every part of the empire. He, therefore, changed his military robe for the Roman gown, and aſſumed the name *(m)* of Cæſar. But even in that tide of his affairs, the ſimplicity of his manners ſuffered no alteration. The ſame frugality, the ſame contempt of pomp and luxury, and the ſame auſterity ſtill remained. Vinius covered his table with a profuſion of luxury; and Otho, who attended the cavalcade into Italy, diſplayed all the magnificence of Nero's court. Galba ſtill preſerved his rules of ancient frugality, and condemned the vain parade *(n)* with inflexible rigour. He ſhewed himſelf ready to puniſh, and ſlow to reward. In his manners no affability, no engaging courteſy. During the whole of his march he never once endeavoured, by an act of condeſcenſion, to gain the affections of the people. The army in Italy conſiſted, at that time, of four different claſſes of men; namely, the legions, both foot and cavalry, compoſed chiefly of Roman citizens; the auxiliary forces, drafted from the ſtates in alliance with Rome; the body of marines, levied in the tributary cities, and conſidered as ſlaves in the ſervice of Rome; and fourthly, the gladiators, who were to ſhed their blood in battle, if the occaſion required, or in the circus, for the diverſion of the populace. The marines, claſſed, as above, in the third diviſion, were called forth by Nero, when he projected a war on the borders of the Caſpian ſea, to be formed into a new legion. The men collected upon that occaſion amounted to a prodigious number, and all were quartered in the city. Being informed that Galba was near at hand, they ruſhed forth in a tumultu-

ous body to the Milvian bridge, about three miles from Rome, where they beſet the road, obſtructed the emperor's train, and, with violent clamour, demanded a confirmation of their military rank, with an eagle to diſtinguiſh their legion, and an allotment of winter quarters *(o)*. Their application, they were told, was out of ſeaſon, but might be renewed at a more convenient time and place. The anſwer was deemed evaſive, and nothing ſhort of an abſolute refuſal. The men were fired with indignation; a mutiny enſued; they advanced ſword in hand, determined to extort by force what they conſidered as a legal right. Galba was not of a temper to yield to ſudden emergencies. He ordered his ſoldiers to diſperſe an inſolent rabble. The cavalry ruſhed on to the charge with impetuous fury, and, meeting with a feeble reſiſtance, cut their way with dreadful ſlaughter. It is ſaid that no leſs than ſeven thouſand were put to the ſword. The reſt ſubmitted at diſcretion, and were afterwards ordered to be decimated.

This tragic cataſtrophe ſpread a general conſternation. Galba entered the city of Rome through a ſcene of blood, and men expected nothing leſs than a renewal of all the cruelties of Nero's reign. He carried with him many virtues, but he had in his train Titus Vinius, Cornelius Laco, and Icelus, his freedman *(p)*; three pernicious miniſters, who gained an entire aſcendant over a venerable, but indolent, old man, and by their vices occaſioned the dreadful calamities, which, in the following year, overwhelmed themſelves, their maſter, and the public.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE CÆSARS.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

1. CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, deſcended from the illuſtrious line of the Julian family, and father of Cæſar the dictator. He ſerved the office of prætor. He, and his brother Lucius Cæſar, died A. U. 670. Julia, their ſiſter, married C. Marius, who was ſeven times conſul.—Suetonius, Life of Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 1, 6. Pliny the elder, book vii. ſ. 53. Plutarch, Life of Marius.

2. AURELIA, the wife of C. J. Cæſar, and mother of the dictator; a woman of extraordinary talents and virtue.—Plut. Life of Jul. Cæſ. Tacitus, Dialogue of Oratory, ſ. 28.

3. CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, the dictator; born in the ſixth conſulſhip of Marius, A. U. 654; before Chriſt, 100. He gained a complete victory at Pharſalia, and became emperor of Rome A. U. 706. He was killed in the capitol by Brutus, Caſſius, and other conſpirators, A. U. 710. The number ſlain in his wars is computed at 1,192,000 men. Plutarch ſays that Cæſar, in his various battles, engaged no leſs than 3,000,000; that he killed 1,000,000, and took another million priſoners.—Velleius Paterculus, book ii. ſ. 41. Pliny, book vii. ſ. 25.

He was called after his death the divine Julius, DIVUS JULIUS.

4. COSSUTIA,

4. Cossutia, Julius Cæſar's firſt wife, of an equeſtrian family, and immoderately rich. Cæſar married her when he was young, and was ſoon divorced.—Suet. Life of Cæſar, ſ. 1.

5. Cornelia, Cæſar's ſecond wife. She was the daughter of Cinna, four times conſul. Sylla tried in vain to compel J. Cæſar to repudiate her. He ſpoke her funeral panegyric.—Suet. Life of Cæſar, ſ. 1, 6. Plutarch, Life of J. Cæſar.

6. Julia, daughter of Julius Cæſar by Cornelia. She married Servilius Cæpio, and, being divorced from him, became the wife of Pompey the Great, A. U. 695. She died A. U. 700. Her funeral oration was ſpoken by Octavius. Honours were inſtituted to her memory by Julius Cæſar.—Suet. Life of Cæſar, ſ. 21.

7. Cneius Pompeius Magnus, born A. U. 648. He married Julia, Cæſar's daughter. He entered on the public magiſtracy at the age of eighteen. He was defeated by Julius Cæſar in the battle of Pharſalia, and put to death in Ægypt, A. U. 706.—Vell. Pat. book ii. ſ. 29. Plutarch, Life of Pompey.

8. A son of Pompey the Great, by Julia, the daughter of J. Cæſar. Died A. U. 701.—Vell. Pater. book ii. ſ. 47.

9. A daughter of Pompey, by Julia, Cæſar's daughter. Died A. U. 701.—Plutarch, Life of J. Cæſar.

10. Pompeia, daughter of Quintus Pompeius, grand-daughter of Lucius Sylla, and third wife of Julius Cæſar, who repudiated her on account of a ſuppoſed intrigue with Publius Clodius.

Being aſked what was his reaſon, he made anſwer, Cæſar's wife muſt not only be free from guilt, but alſo from ſuſpicion.—Suet. Life of Cæſar, ſ. 6. Plutarch, Life of Cæſar.

11. CALPURNIA, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piſo, married to J. Cæſar A. U. 695. After the death of her huſband ſhe fled for protection to Marc Anthony.—Suet. Life of Cæſ. ſ. 81.

12. JULIA, ſiſter of Julius Cæſar, being the daughter of C. J. Cæſar the prætor, and Aurelia his wife. She was married to M. Atius Balbus.—Suet. Life of Auguſtus, ſ. 4.

13. MARCUS ATIUS BALBUS, married Julia, the ſiſter of Julius Cæſar. He was grandfather to Auguſtus.—Suet. Life of Aug. ſ. 4.

14. ATIA, daughter of M. Atius Balbus, by his wife Julia, the ſiſter of J. Cæſar. She married Caius Octavius, and by him was mother of Auguſtus.—Suet. Life of Aug. ſ. 4. Tacit. Dialogue of Orators, ſ. 28.

15. CAIUS OCTAVIUS, huſband of Atia, the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, by Julia, ſiſter of Julius Cæſar. Octavius, afterwards the emperor Auguſtus, was, of courſe, grand nephew to Julius Cæſar.—Suet. Life of Aug. ſ. 3, 4, 5.

16. OCTAVIA, daughter of Atia and Caius Octavius, and ſiſter to Auguſtus. She was promiſed in marriage to Fauſtus Sylla, but married Claudius Marcellus. After his death ſhe married Marc Anthony. She was a woman of exemplary virtue, and great literary accompliſhments. She died A. U. 743. Auguſtus delivered her funeral panegyric.—Suet. Life of Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 27.

17. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, huſband of Octavia, and brother-in-law to Auguſtus. He was conſul A. U. 704. Though nearly related to Cæſar the dictator, he was always an enemy to his cauſe.—Suet. Life of Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 27.

18. MARCUS MARCELLUS, ſon of Octavia, the ſiſter of Auguſtus, and, conſequently, nephew to Auguſtus. A youth of great expectation, highly eſteemed by his uncle, and by him intended to be next in ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity. He died prematurely A. U. 731. Auguſtus paid diſtinguiſhed honours to his memory, and Virgil has made him immortal.—Tacit. Annal. ii. ſ. 41. Annal. iii. ſ. 64. Virgil, Æneid vi. ver. 883.

19. POMPEIA, daughter of Sextus Pompeius, promiſed in marriage to Marcus Marcellus, A. U. 715.

Julia, daughter of Auguſtus by his wife Scribonia, married Marcus Marcellus, A. U. 729, two years before his death.—Dio Caſſius, book xlviii.

20. MARCELLA the elder, daughter of Claudius Marcellus by his wife Octavia, and ſiſter to the laſt-mentioned Marcellus. She was firſt married to Apuleius, and afterwards to Valerius Meſſala.—Suet. Life of Aug. ſ. 53.

21. APULEIUS, huſband of Marcella the elder. He is thought to have been the ſon of Sextus Apuleius, who was conſul A. U. 725.—Dio Caſſius, book liv.

22. APULEIA VARILLA, daughter of Marcella the elder by her huſband Apuleius. She was alſo grand niece to Auguſtus.

Being

Being condemned for adultery A. U. 770, ſhe was baniſhed two hundred miles from Rome.—Tacit. Annal. ii. f. 50.

23. M. VALERIUS MESSALA BARBATUS, ſecond huſband of Marcella the elder. He was conſul A. U. 742.—Suetonius, Life of Auguſtus, f. 63. Life of Claudius, f. 26.

24. M. VALERIUS MESSALA, ſon of Valerius Meſſala Barbatus and of Marcella the elder. He was father of the famous Meſſalina.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26.

25. DOMITIA LEPIDA, daughter of Antonia the younger, by her huſband Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. She was the wife of the laſt-mentioned Valerius Meſſala, and mother of Meſſalina; a woman of debauched and profligate manners, and a violent impetuous ſpirit; in point of beauty, riches, and vice, the rival of Agrippina, Nero's mother. She was condemned to death A. U. 807.—Tacit. Annal. xi. f. 37. Annal. xii. f. 64. See Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26. Life of Nero, f. 7.

26. VALERIA MESSALINA, daughter of Valerius Meſſala and Domitia Lepida. She was wife to the emperor Claudius; a woman of furious and till then unheard of lewdneſs. While Claudius was at Oſtia, ſhe had the hardineſs openly to celebrate her nuptials with Silius, and for that unparalleled crime was put to death A. U. 801.—Tacit. Annal. xi. f. 26. Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 26.

27. MARCELLA the younger, daughter of Claudius Marcellus and Octavia, ſiſter to Auguſtus. She was firſt married to M. Vipſanius Agrippa, and afterwards to M. Julius Antonius.

—Suetonius, Life of Auguſtus, ſ. 63. Plutarch, Life of Marc Anthony.

For M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, ſee No. 47.

28. THE iſſue of Vipſanius Agrippa, by his firſt wife Marcella, before he was married to Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus by his wife Scribonia.—Suet. Life of Aug. ſ. 63.

29. MARCUS JULIUS ANTONIUS, ſon of Marc Anthony the triumvir and Fulvia his wife. He married Marcella the younger, when repudiated by Agrippa. He was conſul A. U. 744; a man of libidinous paſſions. He was put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus. The ode of Horace, *Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet æmulari*, is addreſſed to him.—Tacit. Annal. iii. ſ. 18. Annal. iv. ſ. 44. Horace, book iv. ode 2.

30. LUCIUS ANTONIUS, ſon of M. Julius Antonius by Marcella the younger. On account of his father's guilt with Julia, he was ſent in his infancy to Marſeilles, under a pretence of education, but, in fact, to a place of exile. He died A. U. 778.—Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 44.

31. MARC ANTHONY, the triumvir, ſon of Marcus Antonius the celebrated orator. He was the ſecond huſband of Octavia, ſiſter to Auguſtus, A. U. 714; but being in love with Cleopatra, he repudiated Octavia A. U. 722. After the aſſaſſination of Julius Cæſar, he ſeized the public treaſure, which was depoſited *in the temple of Ops*. He was at all times a turbulent and dangerous citizen; during the triumvirate, headlong, furious, and oppreſſive. The rage, with which he puſhed on the proſcription, rendered him deteſtable. The ſupreme power was often within his reach, but all his actions proved him unworthy of

of that elevation. He was defeated at Actium A. U. 724. The murder of Cicero conſigned his name to eternal infamy. By the manner of his death he effaced much of the ſhame that branded his former conduct.—See Velleius Paterculus, book ii. ſ. 60 and 87. Pliny the elder, book vii. ſ. 45. Plutarch, Life of Anthony. Cicero, Philippic Orations.

The inſcriptions of him on medals are, *Marcus Antonius, Marci Filius, Marci Nepos, Augur, Imperator, Conſul deſignatus iterum et tertium, Triumvir Reipublicæ conſtituendæ.*

32. ANTONIA the elder, daughter of Anthony the triumvir by Octavia ſiſter to Auguſtus. She married L. Domitius Ænobarbus. She is called by Tacitus, Antonia the younger, which makes it probable that Marc Anthony had a former daughter, called Antonia, by his wife Fulvia.—See Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 44. Suet. Life of Nero, ſ. 5. Plutarch, Life of Marc Anthony.

33. LUCIUS DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, ſon of Cneius Domitius, one of the conſpirators againſt Julius Cæſar, and huſband of Antonia the elder; a man of an impetuous temper, violent, proud, extravagant, and cruel. He commanded in Germany, and marched his army beyond the Elbe (Albis); and having penetrated farther than any Roman had done before him, he obtained the honours of a triumph. He died A. U. 778.—Suet. Life of Nero, ſ. 4. Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 44.

34. CNEIUS DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, ſon of the laſt-mentioned L. D. Ænobarbus, by Antonia the elder. He married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, A. U. 781; was conſul A. U. 785. His life was a ſeries of evil deeds. He was the father of Nero, and was uſed to ſay, that from himſelf and

Agrippina

Agrippina nothing good or valuable could be born.—Suet. Life of Nero, ſ. 5. Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 75.

For AGRIPPINA, his wife, ſee No. 93.

35. LUCIUS DOMITIUS NERO, the ſixth Roman emperor, ſon of Cneius Domitius Æñobarbus by Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus. She was grand-daughter to the famous Agrippa, by Julia the daughter of Auguſtus. Nero was born 15th December, A. U. 790, the deteſtable offſpring of two pernicious parents. He was called ſimply Domitius, till by the adoption of Claudius, A. U. 803, he paſſed into the Claudian family, and took the name of Nero. He began his reign, A. U. 807, with ſuch favourable circumſtances, as, for a time, gave promiſe of a virtuous prince. His enormities, afterwards, delivered him down to the execration of poſterity. The burning of Rome was imputed to him. The Chriſtian religion has to boaſt, that the foe of human kind was the enemy of her moral doctrine. He was a burthen to himſelf, and deteſted by all orders of men. He was condemned to die, *more majorum*, by a decree of the ſenate. He eſcaped a public execution, and died in a daſtardly manner by his own hand, A. U. 821, A. D. 68. By his death the race of the Cæſars became extinct.—Suet. Life of Nero, ſ. 6. Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 25; and ſee Appendix to Annals, book xvi. Pliny, book xxii. ſ. 22 and 46.

The inſcriptions on medals are, *Nero Claudius*, *Divi Claudii Filius*, *Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*, *Germanicus*, *Pontifex Maximus*, *Imperator*, *Tribunitiâ Poteſtate Pater Patriæ.*

36. OCTAVIA, daughter of the emperor Claudius by Meſſalina. She was born A. U. 795. Britannicus was her brother.

ther. She was contracted to Lucius Silanus, but married to Nero A. U. 806; worthy of better times, and a better huſband. Nero repudiated her for the ſake of Poppæa. She was baniſhed to the iſland of Pandataria, and there put to death, A. U. 815.—Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 3, 25; and Annal. xiv. ſ. 60, 64. Dio Caſſius, book lxi.

For BRITANNICUS, her brother, ſee No. 108.

37. POPPÆA SABINA, daughter of Titus Ollius by Poppæa Sabina. She was married firſt to Rufius Criſpinus; 2dly, to Marcus Salvius Otho, afterwards emperor; and at length to Nero, A. U. 815. The vices of her character reſembled thoſe of the emperor. He loved her tenderly, yet killed her by a kick on her womb when ſhe was with child, A. U. 818. Her body was not burnt, but filled with ſpices, and depoſited in the monument of the Cæſars. Three years after her death, Nero dedicated a temple to her memory, with an inſcription, *To Sabina the Goddeſs Venus—Sabinæ Deæ Veneri.*—Tacit. Annal. xiii. ſ. 45; Annal. xvi. ſ. 6. Suet. Life of Nero, ſ. 35. Dio Caſſius, book lxiii.

38. CLAUDIA AUGUSTA, daughter of Nero and Poppæa, born at Antium A. U. 816. She was ſoon after her birth dignified with the title of *Auguſta.* She died within four months, to the great grief of Nero. She was canonized a goddeſs by a decree of the ſenate.—Tacit. Annal. xv. ſ. 23. Suet. Life of Nero, ſ. 35.

Her inſcription on medals is, DIVA CLAUDIA NERONIS FILIA; *The Goddeſs Claudia, Daughter of Nero.*

39. STATILIA

39. STATILIA MESSALINA, who drew her lineage through ſeveral deſcents from Statilius Taurus. She was the third wife of Nero, who, to poſſeſs her perſon, murdered her firſt huſband Atticus Veſtinus A. U. 818.—Suet. Life of Nero, ſ. 35. Tacit. Annal. xv. ſ. 68.

40. DOMITIA, daughter of Antonia the elder by Lucius Ænobarbus; aunt to Nero, and the wife of Paſſienus Criſpus. Nero deſtroyed her by poiſon A. U. 812.—Tacit. Annal. xiii. ſ. 19, 21. Quintilian, book vi. ſ. 1.

For PASSIENUS CRISPUS, ſee No. 94.

41. CAIUS APPIUS JUNIUS SILANUS. He was governor of Spain. By the deſire of Claudius he married Domitia Lepida, the mother of Meſſalina, and was ſoon after put to death by order of that emperor, A. U. 795.—Dio Caſſius, book lx.

42. ANTONIA the younger, ſecond daughter of Anthony the triumvir by Octavia ſiſter to Auguſtus. She married Nero Druſus, the brother of Tiberius, and was the mother of Germanicus; a woman diſtinguiſhed by her beauty, and no leſs by her virtue. She ſurvived Druſus, her huſband, many years, leading an exemplary life in a ſtate of widowhood, and by the whole tenour of her conduct almoſt eclipſing the luſtre of her anceſtors.—Pliny, book vii. ſ. 19. Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 1. Tacit. Annal. iii. ſ. 3. Annal. xi. ſ. 3. Plutarch, Life of Marc Anthony. Valerius Maximus, book iv. ſ. 3.

43. CAIUS OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, Auguſtus, emperor of Rome. He was the ſon of Caius Octavius by his wife Atia, who was niece to Julius Cæſar. He was born 23d September, A. U.

A. U. 691. At the age of nineteen he took the lead in the civil wars, and, in three years after, not one of the conſpirators againſt Julius Cæſar (who had adopted him for his ſon) ſurvived the fury of the deſtructive ſword. Sextus Pompeius was totally defeated in a naval engagement off the coaſt of Sicily. Lepidus, one of the triumvirate, was diſmantled of his power; and Marc Anthony was overthrown at the battle of Actium. After thoſe events, Octavius was the only ſurviving chief of the Julian party. He became emperor of Rome A. U. C. 724.

During the whole courſe of his reign, pacific meaſures were the object of his policy. Letters flouriſhed, and men of genius met with encouragement. By his popular acts he gained the affections of the people, with the title of AUGUSTUS, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. Scythia, Sarmatia, the Garamantes and Bactrians, India, and the people called the SERES, ſubmitted to his authority, and ſent their ambaſſadors to ſettle the terms of a general peace. At Rome, and the capital cities of the provinces, temples, orders of prieſthood, ſacerdotal colleges, were dedicated to him, not only after his death, but, in many places, during his life. He died at Nola on the 18th of Auguſt, A. U. 767. His character, ſtrictly examined, was more ſplendid for his policy than his virtues. He owed his elevation to the vices of Lepidus and Anthony, and the abilities of Vipſanius Agrippa; but it redounds to his praiſe, that, what he gained by the prudence and valour of others he was able to ſupport, by a well-judged ſyſtem of policy, during a ſpace of four-and-forty years. It was ſaid of him, that he found the city of Rome made with brick, and he changed it to marble. Though deified, even during his life in ſome parts of the empire, he was taught by various incidents, that he was no more than man.—See Suet. Life of Auguſtus. Tacit. book i. of the Annals; book xiii. ſ. 6. Florus, book iv.

chap. xii. Aurelius Victor, chap. i. Pliny, book vii. ſ. 45. Seneca, de Conſolatione, 34.

Inſcriptions on Ancient Medals:

Before his elevation to the ſupreme power, *Octavius Cæſar, Son of the deified Julius, Imperator, Triumvir for the Purpoſe of reſtoring the Commonwealth, Conſul, the Aſſertor of public Liberty.*

After his acceſſion to the empire, *Cæſar, Auguſtus, Son of the deified Julius Cæſar, Imperator, Conſul, chief Pontiff, and, with the tribunitian Power, Father of his Country.*

After his death, *Divus Auguſtus*, the deified Auguſtus.

44. CLODIA, daughter of Publius Clodius, by his wife Fulvia, and daughter-in-law to Anthony the triumvir. In order to conciliate terms of peace, Auguſtus married her, when ſhe was yet of tender years; but a quarrel taking place with Fulvia, her mother, Auguſtus repudiated her in her virgin ſtate.—Suet. Life of Aug. ſ. 62.

45. SCRIBONIA, ſiſter of Lucius Scribonius Libo, and wife of Auguſtus. She had been married twice before to two men of conſular rank, and by one of them, whoſe name was Scipio, ſhe had a daughter named Cornelia. Auguſtus repudiated Scribonia A. U. 715, and Livia, in a few years afterwards, ſucceeded to the embraces of the emperor of Rome.—Suet. Life of Aug. ſ. 63, 69. Dio, book xlviii. Propertius, book iv. eleg. 2.

46. JULIA, daughter of Auguſtus, by his wife Scribonia, born A. U. 715. She was married, firſt, to Marcellus; ſecondly,

to Agrippa; and thirdly, to Tiberius; a woman of diſſolute conduct, libidinous paſſions, and abandoned infamy. On account of her adulterous intrigues, ſhe was baniſhed by Auguſtus to the iſland of Pandataria A. U. 752. She was left there by Tiberius, to pine in want and miſery. She died A. U. 767.—Pliny, book vii. ſ. 45. Dio, book lv. Tacit. Annal. i. ſ. 53. Vell. Paterculus, book ii. ſ. 100.

For her firſt huſband, MARCUS MARCELLUS, ſee No. 18.

47. MARCUS VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA; a man of low extraction, in his manners unpoliſhed, even to a degree of ruſticity. For thoſe defects he made ample atonement by ſuperior qualities; in war, a great commander; and through life a man of unblemiſhed integrity. He gained ſignal victories both by land and ſea, and by his brilliant ſucceſs eſtabliſhed Auguſtus on the imperial throne. A ſtranger to letters and the fine arts, he was, notwithſtanding, the friend of ſcience. At a time when geographical knowledge had made little or no progreſs, he framed a map of the world, and preſented it to the public. Not only Rome but Italy was adorned, under his direction, with public buildings no leſs uſeful than magnificent. Auguſtus, to ſhew a grateful ſenſe of his ſervices and his merit, raiſed him to three ſeveral conſulſhips, and even made him his aſſociate in the tribunitian power. On the death of Marcus Marcellus (ſee No. 18), Auguſtus choſe him for his ſon-in-law, and gave him in marriage his daughter Julia, then a widow, A. U. 733. Agrippa, though a new man, had the art of riſing in the world with ſuperior dignity. He died A. U. 742, in the fifty-firſt year of his age. Auguſtus ſpoke his funeral panegyric. Tacit. Annal. i. ſ. 3. Pliny, book iii. ſ. 2; book vii. ſ. 8; book xxxv. ſ. 4. Dio, book liv. Vell. Paterculus, book ii. ſ. 96.

He was called in ancient medals, *Marcus Agrippa, Son of Lucius, Conſul three times, Commander of the Fleet, and Præfect of the Sea-coaſt.*

48. CAIUS CÆSAR, ſon of Agrippa and Julia, born A. U. 734; adopted by Auguſtus as his ſon, prince of the Roman youth, and conſul elect. He was prematurely cut off, on his return from Armenia, A. U. 757.—Tacit. Annal. i. ſ. 3. Dio, book liv.

He was married to Livia, the ſiſter of Germanicus.—Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 40.

For LIVIA, his wife, ſee No. 71.

49. LUCIUS CÆSAR, ſon of Agrippa and Julia, brother to Caius Cæſar, born A. U. 737; adopted by Auguſtus into the Cæſarean family; ſtyled prince of the Roman youth; and declared conſul elect. He died at Marſeilles, on his way to join the army in Spain, in the month of Auguſt, A. U. 754. Tacit. Annal. i. ſ. 3.

In ancient medals, both brothers are called, *Caius and Lucius Cæſars, Sons of Auguſtus, Conſuls elect, Princes of the Roman Youth.*

50. MARCUS AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS, ſon of Agrippa and Julia; brother to Caius and Lucius; born after his father's death, A. U. 742. He was adopted by Auguſtus A. U. 757, and ſoon after, on account of his uncouth manners, and ſtupid ferocity, baniſhed to the iſland of Planaſia. No kind of guilt could be imputed to him; no diſgraceful or flagitious action was laid to

his charge; and, for that reaſon, Auguſtus, towards the end of his life, began to relent. He intended to reſtore him to his rank, and, it is ſaid, made a voyage to the iſle of Planaſia for the purpoſe of a reconciliation. Auguſtus, however, did not live to carry his deſign into execution. Agrippa Poſthumus was cut off by order of Tiberius, who made that murder the firſt act of his reign, A. U. 767.—Dio, book liv. Velleius Paterculus, book ii. ſ. 104. Tacit. Annals, book i. ſ. 3, 6. Pliny, book vii. ſ. 45.

51. AGRIPPINA, daughter of Agrippa and Julia; grand-daughter to Auguſtus, and wife of Germanicus; a woman of noble qualities, an exalted ſpirit, and unconquerable chaſtity. Elate with the pride of virtue, and conſcious of her illuſtrious birth, ſhe ſcorned to bend to the arrogance of Livia, the mother of Tiberius. She was baniſhed to the iſle of Pandataria, and, after ſuffering every barbarous outrage from the cruelty of Tiberius, died in miſery A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 12. Annal. vi. ſ. 25. Annal. xiv. ſ. 63. See ſupplement to book v. of the Annals, ſ. 5.

For GERMANICUS, her huſband, ſee No. 81.

52. JULIA, daughter of Agrippa and Julia; ſiſter to Agrippina, and grand-daughter to Auguſtus. She married Lucius Æmilius Paulus, and, in all kinds of exceſs and vicious debauchery, diſtinguiſhed herſelf as the rival of her mother. In the reign of Auguſtus, ſhe was condemned for her adulterous practices, and baniſhed to the iſle of Trimetus, A. U. 761. She died in exile A. U. 781.—Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 71.

53. LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULUS, ſon of Paulus Æmilius Lepidus

Lepidus and his wife Cornelia. The father was cenſor A. U. 732. Lucius the ſon married Julia, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia.—Suet. Life of Auguſtus, ſ. 64. Dio, book liv.

54. MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, ſon of Lucius Æmilius Lepidus and Julia the daughter of Agrippa. He married Druſilla, and committed adultery and inceſt with her ſiſters. His vices endeared him to Caligula. He was condemned for treaſonable practices, and put to death A. U. 792. Caligula, upon that occaſion, gave a donative to the ſoldiers, and dedicated to MARS THE AVENGER three ſwords, which had been prepared by the conſpirators.—Dio, book lix. Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 24 and 36. Tacit. Annal. xiv. ſ. 2.

55. ÆMILIA LEPIDA, the daughter of Lucius Æmilius Paulus and Julia, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, conſequently grand-daughter to Auguſtus. She was contracted to Claudius, afterwards emperor, when he was extremely young; and afterwards married to Junius Silanus.—Suet. Life of Claud. ſ. 26. Pliny, book vii. ſ. 13.

56. JUNIUS SILANUS, the huſband of the laſt-mentioned Æmilia Lepida. Nothing of him can be ſaid with certainty; but it is probable that he was the Marcus Silanus who was joint conſul with Lucius Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. 772.—Tacit. Annal. ii. ſ. 59.

57. MARCUS JUNIUS SILANUS, ſon of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, born in the year in which Auguſtus died, A. U. 767.—Pliny, book vii. ſ. 13. He was a man of an unblemiſhed character, but ſo inactive, that Caligula called him *The Golden Calf.*

Calf. He was proconſul of Aſia, and, by Nero's order, taken off by poiſon, A. U. 807.—Tacit. Annal. xiii. ſ. 1.

58. The wife of Marcus Junius Silanus, and the mother of Lucius Silanus Torquatus. The name is not to be found in any Hiſtorian.

59. Lucius Silanus Torquatus, ſon of Marcus Junius Silanus, who was great-grandſon to Auguſtus. Without being charged with any crime, obnoxious only on account of his illuſtrious birth and the modeſty of his youth, he was put to death by Nero, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xvi. ſ. 7, 8, 9.

60. Lucius Junius Silanus, ſon of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida (ſee No. 55 and 56). The emperor Claudius had promiſed him his daughter Octavia in marriage, A. U. 794, but ſoon after broke off the match, and left Silanus to chooſe his mode of death, A. U. 802.—Dio, book lx. Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 3, 8.

61. Junius Silanus Torquatus, ſon of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, who was great grand-daughter to Auguſtus. A pedigree derived from the Junian family, and rendered ſtill more illuſtrious by his relation to Auguſtus, made him obnoxious to the jealouſy of Nero. He died by that emperor's order, A. U. 817. Both he and Lucius Silanus Torquatus were cut off in the month of June, for which reaſon the name was changed to that of Germanicus.—Tacit. Annal. xv. ſ. 35. Annal. xvi. ſ. 8 and 12. Dio, book lxii.

62. Junia Calvina, daughter of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida. She was married to Vitellius, who was afterwards

wards emperor. Diſtinguiſhed by her beauty and illuſtrious birth, ſhe preſerved an unblemiſhed character, but provoked her enemies by a fierce and uncomplying ſpirit. By the malice and inſidious arts of Agrippina the younger, ſhe was baniſhed out of Italy, but recalled by Nero A. U. 812. She lived to the time of Veſpaſian.—Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 4 and 8. Annal. xiv. ſ. 12. Suet. Life of Veſp. ſ. 23.

63. VITELLIUS, ſon of Lucius Vitellius the cenſor and his wife Sextilia. He married Junia Calvina, and was conſul A. U. 801. Upon ſome diſſenſion between him and his wife, a divorce took place ſome time before A. U. 802.—Tacit. Annal. xi. ſ. 23. Annal. xii. ſ. 4. Suet. Life of Vitellius, ſ. 3 and 18.

64. LEPIDA, daughter of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida. She was married to Caius Caſſius, governor of Syria. An accuſation alleging various crimes was ſuborned againſt her, but referred to the judgment of Nero, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xvi. ſ. 8, 9.

65. CAIUS CASSIUS, governor of Syria, and huſband of Lepida. He was celebrated for his ſuperior knowledge of the laws; but being charged with having, among the images of his anceſtors, the picture or ſtatue of the famous CASSIUS, with an inſcription, *To the Chief of Party*, he was baniſhed to the iſland of Sardinia, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 11, 12. Annal. xvi. ſ. 8, 9.

66. LIVIA, called alſo LIVIA DRUSILLA, and, after the death of Auguſtus, JULIA AUGUSTA. She was the daughter of Livius Druſus Claudianus. Her firſt huſband was Tiberius Claudius Nero: being divorced from him, ſhe married Auguſtus A. U.

A. U. 716. A woman of illuſtrious birth; elegant in her form and manners; of high ambition, and an overbearing ſpirit. She had the ſkill to manage the gentle arts of Auguſtus, and the dark diſſimulation of Tiberius; a complying and obliging wife, and afterwards an imperious mother. Her enmity to Germanicus and his wife Agrippina was ſubtle, cloſe, and unrelenting. She died A. U. 782, at the age of 86.—Velleius Pat. book ii. ſ. 75. Suet. Life of Tiberius, ſ. 3 and 4. Dio, book xlviii. Tacit. Annal. book v. ſ. 1.

Her inſcriptions on ancient medals: *Livia Auguſta*, *Julia Auguſta*, *Mother of her Country*.

After her death: *The deified Livia*, *Wife of the deified Auguſtus*, *the deified Julia Auguſta*.

67. Tiberius Claudius Nero, the firſt huſband of Livia, and by her the father of Tiberius, afterwards emperor, and of Nero Claudius Druſus (for whom ſee No. 79). He obtained the dignities of prætor and pontiff; a man of brilliant talents and extenſive learning. He attached himſelf to Anthony the triumvir; and after the defeat of that party, he withdrew with his wife Livia and Tiberius, then an infant about two years old, into Sicily A. U. 714. Livia fled from Auguſtus, her deſtined huſband, and Tiberius from his future father by adoption. Tiberius Claudius Nero made his peace with Auguſtus, and reſigned his wife A. U. 716. He died three years after, A. U. 719.—Vell. Pat. book ii. ſ. 75. Suet. Life of Tiberius, ſ. 4, 6. Dio, book xlvii.

68. Tiberius Nero, ſon of Tiberius Claudius Nero by Livia his wife, born 16th November, A. U. 712; adopted by

Auguſtus A. U. 757, and emperor of Rome A. U. 767. He died on the 17th of March A. U. 790, after a reign of three-and-twenty years. Julius Cæſar ſubdued his country; Auguſtus cheriſhed the conquered; and Tiberius made them crouch in bondage. He eſtabliſhed ſlavery, and deſpiſed the ſervile ſpirit of the men that ſubmitted with paſſive obedience. He hated eminent virtue, and was at the ſame time the enemy of vice. Such jarring elements have been rarely mixed in the compoſition of one man: fluctuating between good and evil, and by turns inclined to each, he did every thing by fits and ſudden ſtarts of paſſion. Before he roſe to the ſupreme power, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his warlike ſpirit. When maſter of the Roman world, diſſimulation was the prominent feature of his character. When he had waded far in guilt and flagitious deeds, he lay *on the torture of the mind in reſtleſs ecſtaſy*. Goaded by his conſcience, and alarmed by conſtant ſuſpicions, he fled from danger to the iſle of Capreæ, but could not fly from himſelf. He was often heard to utter a moſt horrible wiſh, expreſſed in a Greek verſe:

Εμῷ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

Me mortuo terra miſceatur igni.

"At my death let the earth be involved in flames." He called Priam the happieſt of men, becauſe his kingdom periſhed with him.—Vell. Pat. book ii. f. 75. Tacit. in the ſix firſt Annals, *paſſim*. Pliny, book xxviii. f. 2.

Inſcriptions on ancient medals: *Tiberius Cæſar, Auguſtus Son of the deified Auguſtus, Imperator, Augur, Chief Pontiff, veſted with the Tribunitian Power.*

69. VIPSANIA

69. VIPSANIA AGRIPPINA, daughter of Marcus Vipſanius Agrippa by his firſt wife Pomponia, who was the granddaughter of Atticus, to whom Cicero addreſſed the well-known collection of letters. Vipſania Agrippina was firſt married to Tiberius, the emperor, but by him unwillingly repudiated during her pregnancy, to make way for a match with Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus.—Tacit. Annal. book i. ſ. 12. Suet. Life of Tiberius, ſ. 7. Dio, book liv. After her divorce, ſhe married Aſinius Gallus, the ſon of Aſinius Pollio, the conſul and celebrated orator, the favourite of Auguſtus, and, what is now of more conſequence, celebrated by Horace and Virgil. Of all the children of Agrippa, ſhe is the only one that died a natural death, A. U. 773. Tacit. Annal. book iii. ſ. 19.

For ASINIUS GALLUS, ſee Tacit. Annal. book i. ſ. 8.

70. DRUSUS CÆSAR, ſon of Tiberius by Vipſania Agrippina, who was repudiated in her pregnancy. He was born A. U. 739; a youth of a towering ſpirit, impatient of an equal, addicted to liquor, and in that vice the rival of his father. He married Livia, otherwiſe called Livilla, who was debauched by Sejanus, and drawn into a plot againſt her huſband's life. Druſus had been three times conſul, and was every day riſing to eminence in the ſtate, when Sejanus put an end to his days by poiſon, A. U. 776.—Tacit. Annal. book i. ſ. 55; book iii. ſ. 56; book iv. ſ. 3 and 8. Pliny, book xiv. ſ. 22.

Inſcriptions on ancient medals: *Druſus Cæſar Son of Tiberius, Grandſon to the deifed Auguſtus, Pontiff, Conſul, veſted with Tribunitian Power.*

71. LIVIA, or LIVILLA, daughter of Nero Claudius Druſus

(ſee No. 79) by his wife Antonia the younger (ſee No. 42). She was ſiſter to Germanicus, and alſo Claudius the emperor. Her firſt huſband was Caius, the ſon of Agrippa: after his death ſhe married Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius. Sejanus ſeduced her affections from her huſband. Engaged in a courſe of adultery with that flagitious miniſter, ſhe hoped to riſe with her paramour to the imperial dignity, and with that ambitious view conſpired againſt her huſband. Her guilt being afterwards fully detected, ſhe was put to death by order of Tiberius (ſee Supplement to Annals, book v. f. 38, 39); and by a decree of the ſenate, her pictures and ſtatues were all deſtroyed, and her memory branded with infamy.—Suet. Life of Claudius, f. 1. Life of Tiberius, f. 62. Tacit. Annal. book iv. f. 3 and 40; book vi. f. 2. Dio, book lviii.

72. TIBERIUS, ſon of Druſus Cæſar (ſee No. 70) and Livilla (No. 71), grandſon to Tiberius the emperor, born with a twin-brother A. U. 772. Tiberius was ſo elated with joy on that occaſion, that he boaſted of the birth of twins, as an event which had never happened to any Roman of equal rank. Caligula deprived him of the ſucceſſion and his life, A. U. 790.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. f. 84. Dio, book lix.

73. THE twin-brother of Tiberius (No. 72), the ſon of Druſus and Livia, or Livilla, died when about four years old, A. U. 776.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. f. 84; book iv. f. 15. His name is nowhere mentioned.

74. JULIA, daughter of Druſus Cæſar (No. 70) and Livia No. 71), married firſt to Nero Cæſar, ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina, and afterwards to Rubellius Blandus. She was cut off by the malice of Meſſalina A. U. 796.—Tacit. Annal. book iii. f. 29; book vi. f. 27; book xiii. f. 19 and 32. Dio, book lx.

For

For NERO CÆSAR, ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina, the huſband of Julia, ſee No. 82.

75. RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, ſon of a Roman knight, and the ſecond huſband of Julia, the daughter of Druſus (ſee No. 70). He was married to her A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. book vi. ſ. 27. Dio, book lviii.

76. RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS, ſon of Rubellius Blandus and his wife Julia. The popular voice marked him out a proper perſon to ſucceed to the imperial dignity, and for that reaſon he was put to death by Nero A. U. 815.—Tacit. Annal. book xiii. ſ. 19; book xiv. ſ. 22 and 58.

77. ANTISTIA POLLUTIA, daughter of Lucius Antiſtius Vetus, and wife of Rubellius Plautus (No. 76). She was put to death with her father and Sextia, her mother-in-law, A. U. 818. Her crime was, that, while ſhe lived, Nero conſidered her and her family as a living reproach for the murder of her huſband Rubellius Plautus.—Tacit. Annal. book xvi. ſ. 10 and 11.

78. A SON of Tiberius the emperor by Julia, the daughter of Auguſtus (ſee No. 46). He was born at Aquileia, and died in his infancy A. U. 747. His name is nowhere mentioned.—Suet. Life of Tiberius, ſ. 7. Dio, book lv.

79. NERO CLAUDIUS DRUSUS, ſon of Tiberius Claudius Nero (ſee No. 67) and Livia, afterwards married to Auguſtus. Tiberius the emperor was his elder brother. He was born A. U. 716. A youth, ſays Velleius Paterculus, of as many virtues as prudence can acquire, or human nature can admit. The fine ode of Horace, *Qualem Miniſtrum fulminis alitem*, book iv. ode 4, written

written in the year of Rome 743, diſplays his military character in the brighteſt colours. He roſe to the higheſt civil offices, ſuch as prætor, ædile, and conſul. He commanded the Roman army in Germany, and for his victories obtained the name of GERMANICUS. He was father of the famous Germanicus by Antonia the younger (ſee No. 42). He died A.U. 745; the pride of the Claudian family, and the favourite of the Roman people. Auguſtus ſpoke his funeral panegyric, and in his ſpeech offered up a fervent prayer to the gods, that all future Cæſars might reſemble him, and that his own death, whenever it ſhould happen, might be equally honourable and as ſincerely lamented.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 1. Life of Tiberius, ſ. 4. Dio, book lv. Valerius Maximus, book iv. ſ. 3, No. 3.

Inſcription on ancient coins: *Nero Claudius Druſus, Germanicus, Imperator.*

For ANTONIA the younger, the wife of Druſus, ſee No. 42.

80. SONS of Druſus and Antonia. They died before A. U. 745, and their names are now unknown.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 1.

81. GERMANICUS CÆSAR, ſon of Nero Claudius Druſus (No. 79) by Antonia the younger (No. 42), the worthieſt ſon of the worthieſt parents. Tiberius, by the command of Auguſtus, adopted him A. U. 757, but afterwards, when poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power, beheld him with a malignant eye. He died on his return from a tour in Ægypt, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of being poiſoned by the contrivance of Livia, the mother of Tiberius, and the villany of Piſo and Plancina, A. U. 772, in the thirty-firſt year of his age. The funeral ceremony was per-

formed at Antioch. Germanicus ſucceeded to his father in the affections of the Roman people. Of gentle manners, mild and gracious to all, he was beheld with pleaſure, and heard with applauſe. Ambition, if we except the fair deſire of being diſtinguiſhed by his virtues, had no influence on his conduct. Undebauched by pleaſure, he diſcharged all the duties of an upright citizen and an able officer. He commanded the Roman legions in Germany; in war victorious, and in peace moderate to the vanquiſhed. Poſſeſſed of great accompliſhments, he was in nothing inferior to Alexander, and free from the vices of that warlike chief He was on the ſide of virtue greatly his ſuperior. Rome deplored his death, and with him loſt all hopes of ſeeing the old conſtitution reſtored. Foreign nations paid their tribute of reſpect to his memory.—Tacit. Annal. book i. f. 3, 33, 34, 42, &c.; book ii. f. 72, 73. Dio, book lv.

Inſcriptions on ancient coins: *Germanicus Cæſar, Son of Tiberius Auguſtus, Grandſon to the deified Auguſtus, Conſul.*

After his death, in the reign of his ſon Caligula: *Germanicus Cæſar, Father of Cæſar Auguſtus, the deified Germanicus.*

For AGRIPPINA, his wife, ſee No. 51.

82. NERO CÆSAR, ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina. He married Julia, daughter of Druſus the ſon of Tiberius (ſee No. 70), A. U. 773. By the wicked arts of Sejanus he was baniſhed to the iſle of Pontia, and there put to death A. U. 784.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. f. 59, 60; book v. f. 3, 4. Suet. Life of Tiberius, f. 54. Dio, book lviii.

For JULIA, the wife of Nero Cæſar, ſee No. 74.

83. DRUSUS

83. DRUSUS CÆSAR, ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina, brother to Nero Cæſar and Caligula, afterwards emperor. He married Æmilia Lepida, who was induced by Sejanus to betray her huſband. Deluded himſelf by the arts of that evil miniſter, he conſpired againſt the life of his brother, Nero Cæſar. He was impriſoned at Rome by order of Tiberius, and died in confinement A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. ſ. 60; book vi. ſ. 23, 24. Dio, book lviii.

Inſcriptions on ancient coins: *Nero Cæſar*, *Druſus Cæſar*, *Duumviri.*

84. ÆMILIA LEPIDA, daughter of Manius Lepidus, and wife of Druſus Cæſar (No. 83). She was engaged in an adulterous commerce with Sejanus, and ſuborned by that ambitious upſtart to carry a clandeſtine charge againſt her huſband to the ear of Tiberius. Notwithſtanding her crimes, ſhe was protected during her father's life; but being afterwards proſecuted by the race of informers, ſhe put an end to her days A. U. 789.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. ſ. 20; book vi. ſ. 27, 40.

85. CAIUS CÆSAR, ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina; a youth of engaging manners, and a promiſing diſpoſition. He died prematurely in the bloom of life, much regretted by Auguſtus.—Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 7 and 8.

86. CAIUS CÆSAR, better known by the name of CALIGULA, fourth emperor of Rome, the ſon of Germanicus and Agrippina. He was born at Antium 31ſt Auguſt, in the conſulſhip of Germanicus and Fonteius Capito, A. U. 765. He practiſed the arts of diſſimulation during the life of Tiberius, and had the ſkill to conceal his real character. Having obtained the ſovereign

power, he threw off the maſk, and ſhewed himſelf a monſter of vice and cruelty. He wiſhed with impious arrogance to be worſhipped as a god, and was at the ſame time a tyrant of ſavage ferocity, the ſcourge of human kind. His delight in blood was ſo keen and ardent, that he was often heard to expreſs his wiſh, *that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might at a blow deſtroy the whole race.* He diſſipated in leſs than a year the whole treaſure left by Tiberius, computed to be an immenſe ſum. Nor can this be wondered at in a man who ſpent for one dinner a hundred thouſand ſeſterces. Coſtly and effeminate in his dreſs, he was ſo extravagant as to appear in ſhoes compoſed of pearl. He was ſlain by Caſſius Cherea, tribune of a prætorian cohort, on the fourth day of the Palatine games, A. U. 794; a man, ſays Seneca, deſigned by nature to ſhew what the worſt vices can do in the height of power.—Seneca de Conſolat. c. ix. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 8, 37, 58. Pliny, book vii. f. 8; book xxxvii. f. 2. Tacit. Annal. book vi. f. 20.

Inſcriptions on ancient coins: *Caius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, Son of Tiberius Auguſtus, Grandſon to Auguſtus, Great-Grandſon to the deified Auguſtus, Caius Cæſar, a God and Emperor.*

As adopted ſon of Tiberius, he was grandſon to Auguſtus; as the ſon of Germanicus, he was great-grandſon.

87. CLAUDIA, daughter of M. Silanus, married to Caligula A. U. 786. She died in child-bed. Suetonius calls her JUNIA CLAUDILLA.—Tacit. Annal. book vi. f. 20. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 12.

88. LIVIA ORESTILLA; called by Dio, CORNELIA ORESTINA.

TINA. She was on the point of marrying Caius Calpurnius Piſo, when Caligula, enamoured of her beauty, carried off by force, and in a few days after repudiated her.—Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 25. Dio, book lix.

89. LOLLIA PAULINA, grand-daughter of Marcus Lollius, who was tutor to Caius Cæſar, the ſon of Agrippa (No. 48), and drew on himſelf a load of diſgrace and obloquy on account of the prodigious preſents, which he received with a rapacious hand from the oriental princes. His daughter Lollia Paulina was married to Caligula. The emperor raviſhed her from Caius Memmius Regulus, and in a ſhort time after diſmiſſed her from his embraces. Pliny aſſures us, that he ſaw her, not at a time of public feſtivity, but at a moderate entertainment, placed at the banqueting-table, in a dreſs overcharged with jewels and pearls, artfully intermixed and blended, tangled in her hair, ſhining on her head, at her ears, round her neck, with rich bracelets on her arms, and her fingers loaded with rings; the whole of this laboured magnificence was not worth leſs than four hundred thouſand ſeſterces. Pliny adds, that this enormous diſplay was not a preſent from the emperor, but all of it the wealth of her grand-father Marcus Lollius, accumulated from the ſpoil of plundered provinces.—Pliny, book ix. cap. 35, ſ. 57. Suet. Life of Caligula, 25. Dio, book lix.

90. MILONIA CÆSONIA, daughter of Veſtilia, whom Caligula married when ſhe was advanced in her pregnancy, A. U. 792. In thirty days after ſhe was delivered of her child. She was the wife of the worſt of men, and her own vices made her worthy of ſuch a connexion. Caligula was killed A. U. 794; and in a few days after Cherea, who diſpatched the tyrant, ordered Cæſonia and her daughter to be put to death, that no remains

remains of the tyrant's family ſhould be ſuffered to exiſt. She died with a degree of fortitude that would have done honour to a better character.—Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 25, 59. Dio, book lix. Pliny, book vii. ſ. 5.

91. JULIA DRUSILLA, daughter of Caligula and Milonia Cæſonia. Her frantic father carried her to the temples of all the goddeſſes, and dedicated her to Minerva, as to the patroneſs of her education. She diſcovered in her infancy ſtrong indications of the cruelty that branded both her parents. She ſuffered death with her mother (ſee No. 90).—Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 25 and 59. Dio, book lix.

92. TWO ſons of Germanicus and Agrippina, who died in their infancy. Their names not recorded.—Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 7 and 8.

93. AGRIPPINA, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, born A. U. 769. She was married three times; firſt, to Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, A. U. 781; ſecondly, to Paſſienus Criſpus; thirdly, to the emperor Claudius, A. U. 801. She was a woman of violent paſſions, unbounded ambition, and at the ſame time diſtinguiſhed by her literary accompliſhments. By Ænobarbus, her firſt huſband, ſhe was the mother of Nero, whoſe name is now another word for the moſt ſavage cruelty. Nero was born A. U. 790 (No. 35). By that execrable parricide Agrippina was barbarouſly murdered A. U. 812.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. ſ. 54; book iv. ſ. 53; book xii. ſ. 64; book xiv. ſ. 6, 7, 8. Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 7. Dio, book lx.

For CNEIUS DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, her firſt huſband, and the father of Nero, ſee No. 34.

94. PASSIENUS CRISPUS, a celebrated orator, and twice conſul. He was firſt married to Domitia (ſee No. 40), and ſecondly to Agrippina. A ſhrewd ſaying of his concerning Caligula is well known: *There never was a better ſlave, nor a worſe maſter.* Upon other occaſions he was uſed to obſerve, "*We all oppoſe the door to flattery, but none of us ſhut it.*"—Pliny, book xvi. c. 44, f. 91. Tacit. Annal. book vi. f. 20. Seneca, Quæſt. Natural. book iv. Preface.

For CLAUDIUS, the third huſband of Agrippina, ſee No. 100.

95. DRUSILLA, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, born A. U. 770. She was firſt married to Lucius Caſſius Longinus A. U. 786, and afterwards to Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Caligula, her brother, had an inceſtuous intrigue with her; and after her death, which happened A. U. 791, he canonized her for a goddeſs by the name of PANTHEA. On that occaſion Livius Geminius declared on his oath, that he had ſeen her in her aſcent to heaven. For this extraordinary teſtimony he was amply rewarded by Caligula.—Tacit. Annal. vi. f. 15. Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 7 and 24. Dio, book lix.

On ancient coins: *Druſilla Auguſta.*

96. LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, married to Druſilla (No. 95). He was raiſed to the conſulſhip A. U. 783, and afterwards ſtood forth the accuſer of Druſus, his wife's brother (ſee No. 83).—Suet. Life of Caligula, f. 24. Tacit. Annal. vi. f. 15. Dio, book lviii.

For MARCUS ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, the ſecond huſband of Druſilla, ſee No. 54.

97. JULIA,

97. JULIA, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, called by Suetonius LIVILLA. She was born A. U. 771. Caligula, on account of her debaucheries, ordered her to be conveyed to the iſle of Pontia, A. U. 792. She was recalled in the reign of Claudius; but Meſſalina, without any crime alleged, contrived to drive her into baniſhment, and afterwards put her to death, A. U. 796.—Suet. Life of Caligula, ſ. 7 and 24. Life of Claudius, ſ. 29. Dio, book lix.

98. QUINCTILIUS VARUS, ſon of Claudia Pulchra, who was couſin to Agrippina. He married Julia (No. 97). An accuſation was framed againſt him by Domitius Afer and Dolabella, A. U. 780.—Seneca, Controv. book i. ſ. 3. Tacit. Annal. iv. ſ. 52 and 66.

99. MARCUS VINICIUS. He married Julia (No. 97) A. U. 786; was twice conſul, but, by a wicked ſtratagem of Meſſalina, was deſtroyed by poiſon A. U. 799. It was to this man, in the year of his conſulſhip, that Velleius Paterculus dedicated his elegant compendium of the Roman Hiſtory; a work admired for the beauty of the ſtyle, but debaſed by the fulſome praiſe of Tiberius and Sejanus.—Tacit. Annal. vi. ſ. 15. See Supplement to Annals, v. ſ. 11. Dio, book lx.

100. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS GERMANICUS, fifth emperor of Rome. He was ſon to Nero Claudius Druſus (No. 79) and Antonia the younger (No. 42); he was brother to Germanicus; born at Lyons *(Lugduni)* A. U. 744. He diſcovered in the firſt dawn of infancy a degree of dulneſs that bordered on ſtupidity. He grew up ſo ſluggiſh in body and mind, that Antonia his mother often declared that he was an imperfect production, ſent into the world unfiniſhed by the hand of

Nature. He ſucceeded to the ſupreme power A. U. 794, during the whole of his reign governed altogether by his wives or his freedmen. He was poiſoned by the contrivance of Agrippina his wife, and died on the 13th of October, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, A. U. 807. After his death he was numbered among the gods. His deification was treated with contempt and ridicule by Seneca, in a tract ſtill extant, entitled, *Claudii Cæſari Apocolokintoſis.* The general deſign of the piece is not ill imagined; but the humour is often coarſe, and, upon the whole, inferior to what might have been expected from the lively genius of that entertaining writer. Claudius, with all the appearance of inert faculties and an impaſſive mind, devoted his time, in repoſe and indolence, to literature and the polite arts. He was not entirely void of taſte. His compoſitions in Greek, as well as Latin, were written with purity and even elegance. Two pieces of a braſs table have been found at Lyons, on which is engraved a ſpeech of Claudius, in characters ſo plainly legible, that Dotteville (in his edition of Tacitus) has given an exact copy, faithfully compared with the original (ſee at the end of his Notes to Annals, book xii.).—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 2, 10, 41, 42. Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 69. Seneca, APOCOLOKINTOSIS. Pliny, book xxxvi. c. 15, ſ. 24.

101. PLAUTIA URGULANILLA, daughter of Aulus Plautius, who had enjoyed the ſplendour of a triumph. She was the firſt wife of the emperor Claudius, and by him repudiated on account of her licentious manners, and a ſuſpicion of homicide that blackened her character.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 26. Dio, book lx.

102. DRUSUS, ſon of the emperor Claudius and Urgulanilla. A match between him and the daughter of Sejanus was projected

by that ambitious favourite A. U. 773; but Druſus, as yet of tender years, loſt his life by an accident. A pear, which in a playful manner he had toſſed up in the air, fell into his mouth and choked him.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 27. Tacit. Annal. iii. ſ. 29.

103. CLAUDIA, daughter of Urgulanilla. She was born in leſs than five months after her mother's divorce from Claudius; and yet the emperor thought proper to diſown her as his child, alleging that ſhe was begot by one of his freedmen, and as ſuch he ordered her to be left naked at her mother's door.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 27.

104. ÆLIA PETINA, daughter of Quintus Ælius Tubero, who was conſul A. U. 743. She was the ſecond wife of Claudius, but on ſome frivolous occaſion ſoon repudiated.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 26.

105. ANTONIA, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Ælia Petina. Claudius gave her away in marriage to Cneius Pompeius (ſee No. 106), and afterwards to Cornelius Sylla (ſee No. 107). Nero, after the death of Poppæa, propoſed to marry her; and his offer being rejected, he condemned her to ſuffer death, on a pretended charge of plotting againſt the ſtate. —Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 27. Life of Nero, ſ. 35. Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 68.

106. CNEIUS POMPEIUS, a youth of noble deſcent, married to Antonia (No. 105) A. U. 794. He was ſome time after put to death by order of Claudius.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 27 and 29.

107. FAUSTUS

107. FAUSTUS CORNELIUS SYLLA, of illuſtrious birth, the ſecond huſband of Antonia (No. 105). He was baniſhed by Nero into Narbon Gaul, and there put to death by aſſaſſins diſpatched from Rome, A. U. 815.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 27. Tacit. Annal. xiii. ſ. 23; xiv. ſ. 57.

For MESSALINA, the third wife of Claudius, ſee No. 26.

108. BRITANNICUS, ſon of Claudius and Meſſalina, born 12th of February, A. U. 794. By his birth, and his father's intention, who carried him in his arms and recommended him as heir apparent to the affections of the army, he was next in ſucceſſion to the ſovereignty; but by the artful policy of Agrippina, the fourth wife of Claudius, he was poſtponed to Nero, and afterwards deſtroyed by poiſon, in the fourteenth year of his age, A. U. C. 808.—Suet. Life of Claudius, ſ. 27. Tacit. Annal. xii. ſ. 25; xiii. ſ. 15 and 16.

For OCTAVIA, the ſiſter of Britannicus, ſee No. 36.

For AGRIPPINA, the mother of Nero by Domitius Ænobarbus, and afterwards the wife of Claudius, ſee No. 93.

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Sons of Germanicus — —	—	92

T.

Tiberius, emperor of Rome —	—	68
Tiberius, grandſon of Tiberius, emperor —	—	72
Tiberius Claudius, emperor —	—	100
Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius —	—	67
Torquatus, ſee Junius Silanus Torquatus.		
Torquatus, ſee Lucius Silanus Torquatus.		

V.

Valeria Meſſalina, wife of Claudius, emperor	—	26
Valerius Meſſala, huſband of Marcella the elder	—	23
Valerius Meſſala Barbatus, huſband of Domitia Lepida	—	24
Varus, huſband of Julia, the daughter of Germanicus	—	98
Vinicius, huſband of Julia, daughter of Germanicus	—	99
Vipſania Agrippina, wife of Tiberius, emperor	—	69
Vipſanius Agrippa, huſband of Julia, daughter of Auguſtus		47
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Urgulanilla, ſee Plautia Urgulanilla.		

W.

Wife of Marcus Junius Silanus; her name unknown	—	58

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

SIX LAST BOOKS

OF

THE ANNALS.

NOTES

ON THE

ELEVENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

THE former part of this book, compriſing no leſs than ſix years, is loſt, with other parts of Tacitus. Claudius ſucceeded to Caligula, who was put to death by Chærea and other conſpirators, on the 24th of January, A. U. C. 794. The preſent book begins abruptly in the year of Rome 800, when Claudius had reigned ſix years. The very firſt ſentence is imperfect. The hiſtorian, beyond all doubt, had been ſpeaking of Meſſalina and Poppæa Sabina, but neither of them is mentioned in the mutilated text. To avoid beginning with a broken paſſage, the tranſlator has added their names, and the ſenſe will now be found complete. Valerius Aſiaticus had been conſul twice; the firſt time, for ſome months, to ſupply the place of the conſuls who began the year A. U. C. 796; the ſecond time, in conjunction with Marcus Junius Silanus, A. U. C. 799. Suetonius, in Claud. ſ. 14.

(*a*) Suilius has been already mentioned, Annals, book iv. ſ. 31; and for the infamy of his character, ſee book xiii. ſ. 42.

(*b*) In the tumult occaſioned by the death of Caligula, when the people were wild with contending paſſions, and the prætorian guards paraded the ſtreets denouncing vengeance againſt the conſpirators, Valerius Aſiaticus (according to Joſephus) ruſhed forward to meet them,

proclaiming aloud, " I wiſh the tyrant had fallen by my hand." See Seneca, De Conſtantiâ, cap. 18.

(*c*) Formerly the capital of the Allobroges; now Vienne in Dauphiné.

Section II.

(*a*) This was agreeable to the Roman manners. What man is aſhamed, ſays Cornelius Nepos, to take his wife with him to a convivial meeting? *Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium?* Corn. Nep. in Præfatione.

Section V.

(*a*) Marcus Cincius, tribune of the people, was the author of the *Cincian Law*, ſo called after his name, in the conſulſhip of Sempronius and Cethegus, A. U. C. 550. It provided againſt the receipt of gifts and preſents, but, in a courſe of time, fell into diſuſe, till Auguſtus, A. U. 732, thought fit to revive it, with an additional clauſe, by which the advocate, who pleaded for hire, was condemned to pay four times the ſum. Claudius (as may be ſeen ſ. vii.) ſoftened the rigour of the law, allowing a certain fee, and ordaining, that whoever took more ſhould be obliged to make reſtitution.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Mithridates, brother to Pharaſmanes, king of Iberia, was appointed by Tiberius to ſway the ſceptre of Armenia, A. U. C. 788. See Annals, book vi. ſ. 32. He was afterwards brought to Rome in chains, and thrown into priſon by Caligula, A. U. 793. Tacitus ſays, he had given an account of this tranſaction; but the hiſtory of Caligula is unfortunately loſt.

(*b*) For Seleucia, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*c*) The river here intended is the Tigris. See Geographical Table.

(*d*) For the Dahæ and Hyrcani, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section IX.

(*a*) This is the ſame Cotys who has been already mentioned, as king of part of Thrace. See Annals, book iv. ſ. 67; and ſee the note.

Caligula

Caligula added his diviſion of that country to the dominions of Rhæmetalces, and made Cotys king of the leſſer Armenia, A. U. C. 791.

Section X.

(*a*) For the river Erinde and Sinden, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XI.

(a) The ſecular games were exhibited by Auguſtus, in the conſulſhip of Caius Furnius and C. Silanus, A. U. C. 737. The famous *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace has made them univerſally known. In their firſt inſtitution they were to be celebrated at the end of every century; but that regulation, as we learn from Horace, was changed to every hundred and ten years.

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis, ut cantus referatque ludos
Ter die clarâ, totieſque gratâ
Nocte frequentes.

The firſt ſecular games were in the conſulſhip of Valerius and Virginius, A. U. C. 298.

The ſecond, in the conſulſhip of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Pætilius, A. U. C. 408.

The third, in the conſulſhip of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Varus, A. U. C. 518.

The fourth, in the conſulſhip of Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Aurelius, A. U. C. 628.

The fifth, by Auguſtus, as above mentioned, 737.

The ſixth, by Claudius, A. U. C. 800.

Tacitus ſays, Claudius differed from the computation of Auguſtus; and for an explanation of that matter he refers us to the hiſtory of Domitian, who alſo gave the ſecular games, A. U. C. 841. But the hiſtory of Domitian has not reached poſterity. That monſter has eſcaped the vengeance due to his crimes from the pen of Tacitus. The difference between the calculation of Auguſtus and that of Claudius appears to be a fallacy of the latter emperor. Suetonius ſays, he exhibited the ſecular games, under a pretence of their having been anticipated

ticipated by Auguſtus; and yet Claudius, in his hiſtory, fairly owns, *that they had been neglected before the time of Auguſtus; but that emperor made an exact calculation of the time, and again brought the games to their regular order.* For this reaſon, when the cryer, by order of Claudius, invited the people, in the uſual form, *to games, which no one had ever ſeen, and would never ſee again,* the people could not refrain from laughing, as many then living had ſeen them in the time of Auguſtus, and ſome of the players, who had acted on that occaſion, were now brought upon the ſtage again. Suet. in Claud. ſ. 21.

(*b*) The *Trojan Game*, commonly aſcribed to Æneas, is beautifully deſcribed by Virgil, Æneid v. ver. 545. Suetonius ſays it was exhibited by Julius Cæſar, when two companies, one conſiſting of grown up lads, and the other of boys of a leſſer ſize, diſplayed their ſkill in horſemanſhip. Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 39. This may account for the appearance of Britannicus and Domitius Nero, both at that time extremely young. Britannicus was born A. U. C. 794; Nero in the year 790. See the Genealogical Table, No. 108 and No. 35.

(*c*) Suetonius explains the origin of this fable. He ſays, there was a report, that certain aſſaſſins were hired by Meſſalina to ſtrangle Nero in his bed, in order to remove the rival of Britannicus. The men went to execute their purpoſe, but were frightened by a ſerpent that crept from under his pillow. This tale was occaſioned by the finding of a ſerpent's ſkin near Nero's pillow, which, by his mother's order, he wore for ſome time upon his right arm, incloſed in a golden bracelet. Suetonius, in Neron. ſ. 6.

Section XII.

(*a*) Silius was conſul elect, as already mentioned in this book, ſ. 5. Juvenal ſays,

> ———————— Elige quidnam
> Suadendum eſſe putes, cui nubere Cæſaris uxor
> Deſtinat. Optimus hic, et formoſiſſimus idem
> Gentis patriciæ, rapitur miſer extinguendus
> Meſſalinæ oculis. SAT. X. ver. 331.

Now

Now Silius wants thy counſel; give advice;
Wed Cæſar's wife, or die. The choice is nice.
Her comet-eyes ſhe darts on ev'ry grace,
And takes a fatal liking to his face.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XIII.

(a) Pomponius had been conſul, but not in the beginning of the year, and therefore his name does not appear in the *Faſti Conſulares*. Quintilian praiſes his dramatic genius, and admires his tragedies. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. xiii. note *(c)*.

(b) The *Simbruine Hills*, according to Brotier and other commentators, are the hills that overlook the town, formerly called *Sublaqueum*, now *Subjaco*, about forty miles from Rome, towards the eaſt, and not far from the *Sacred Cave*, now *Il Monaſtero del Sacro Speco*. The waters iſſuing from two fountains, known by the names of *Curtius* and *Cæruleus*, were, by the direction of Claudius, brought to Rome in canals made with great labour and vaſt expence. See Pliny's Deſcription, lib. xxxvi. ſ. 15.

Section XIV.

(a) The invention of letters, one of the happieſt exertions of the human mind, preſents a ſubject of ſo curious and complicated a nature, that the diſcuſſion of it cannot be condenſed into a note. Plato and Cicero were ſo ſtruck with the wonderful artifice of alphabetical characters, as to conclude that it was not of human invention, but a preternatural gift of the immortal gods. Dr. Warburton has given a diſſertation on the ſubject, in which profound learning and ſound philoſophy are happily united. After him, it may be ſtated, that man, being formed for ſociety, ſoon found two ways of communicating his thoughts; namely, by ſounds and ſignificant action. But both were tranſient. Something permanent was ſtill required; ſomething, by which the conceptions of the mind might be preſerved and communicated at a diſtance. This was done by the images of things, properly called picture writing. Senſible objects were eaſily repreſented, but abſtract ideas demanded further improvement. That difficulty

difficulty was alſo conquered. Men converſant in matter wanted ſenſible images to convey the ideas formed by the operations of the underſtanding. For that purpoſe, every object, in which could be found any kind of reſemblance or analogy, was introduced to repreſent the inward ſentiment: as an EYE, for knowledge; a CIRCLE, for eternity. This was the ſymbolic writing of the Ægyptians, who attended chiefly to the animal creation, and thereby eſtabliſhed the *brute-worſhip* of their country. The ſeveral animals and ſymbolic figures being carved on pyramids and obeliſks, by direction of the ſacerdotal order, the art of expreſſing ideas by analogous repreſentation was deemed ſacred, and thence called HIEROGLYPHIC. It had, at firſt, nothing in it of myſtery: it was dictated by the neceſſities of man in ſocial life. The Chineſe in the eaſt had their hieroglyphics. Picture-writing was known to the Mexicans, in a world then undiſcovered; and, accordingly, ACOSTA tells us, that the firſt account of a Spaniſh fleet on the coaſt, was ſent to Montezuma in delineations painted on cloth. The ſame writer adds, things that had a bodily ſhape, were repreſented by their proper figures; and thoſe that were inviſible, by other expreſſive characters; and thus the Mexicans wrote or painted every thing they had occaſion to expreſs. The Peruvians made uſe of arbitrary marks. With their knotted cords of different colours, and various ſizes, they contrived to convey their thoughts to one another. The Chineſe proceeded from their hieroglyphics to the invention of a ſignificant mark for every idea. It is a miſtake to ſay that they formed an alphabet, or letters to be the ſign of ſimple ſounds. Their characters do not ſtand for ſyllables, of which articulate words are compoſed; they expreſs the idea, or the object itſelf; and it is ſaid that they have no leſs than ſeventy thouſand of ſuch arbitrary characters. The confuſion that muſt follow is obvious. Signs for WORDS, not THINGS, were ſtill the grand deſideratum. Some happy genius (who, it is not known) aroſe in Ægypt. He had the ſagacity to obſerve the formation of ſounds by the human organs, and ſoon perceived that ſeveral were frequently united to conſtitute a word. By decompounding theſe, and fixing a mark for vowels and conſonants, which might be afterwards blended and varied as the word required, the art of writing was reduced to ſimplicity,

plicity, and finally eſtabliſhed in its preſent form. Moſes brought alphabetic letters, with the reſt of his learning, from Ægypt, and was, therefore, able to reduce his books to writing. Cadmus was of Thebes in Ægypt, and paſſed from Phœnicia into Greece. His native country ſhews whence he derived his alphabet; though the Phœnicians were, by vulgar error, ſaid to be the people who invented letters, and firſt taught the art of *ſtopping the flying ſound.*

> Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, auſi
> Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.
>
> LUCAN, lib. iii. ver. 220.

Pliny the elder gives the honour to the Aſſyrians: he ſays, *Literas ſemper arbitror fuiſſe Aſſyrias.* Lib. vii. ſ. 56. It is plain, however, that he was not rightly informed. See Warburton's Divine Legation, vol. iii. page 66, &c.; and ſee Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxxii. page 212.

(*b*) Dr. Warburton ſays, the Hebrew alphabet, which Moſes employed in the compoſition of the Pentateuch, is conſiderably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus had only ſixteen letters, and the Hebrew had two-and-twenty. Divine Legat. vol. iii. page 148. We find from Tacitus, that the Greek alphabet received conſiderable additions. As to the three letters added by Claudius to the Roman alphabet, Suetonius ſays, he invented three new letters, concerning which he publiſhed a book, while he was yet a private citizen; and, after his elevation to the imperial ſeat, his authority introduced them into common uſe, and the ſame were ſtill extant in books, regiſters, and inſcriptions on buildings. See Life of Claudius, ſ. 41. Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, has given, from a braſs table found at Lyons, a ſpeech made by Claudius to the ſenate; but in that monument of antiquity no trace appears of thoſe new letters.

Section XVII.

(*a*) For an account of Flavius, the father, ſee Annals, book ii. ſ. 9 and 10.

(*b*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XVIII.

(a) For the Chaucians, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) The countries now called *Zelande*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*. In thoſe parts there were ſeveral canals and inlets of the ſea, between the *Scheld*, the *Meuſe*, and the *Rhine*.

Section XIX.

(a) For the Friſians, ſee the Geographical Table: and for Lucius Apronius, ſee Annals, book iv. f. 73 and 74.

Section XX.

(a) For the Mattiaci, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

(a) Some of the commentators will have this perſon to be Quintus Curtius, the hiſtorian of Alexander the Great; but this opinion is without foundation. Tacitus would not omit a circumſtance ſo very remarkable.

(b) For Adrumetum, ſee the Geographical Table.

(c) This ſtory is related as a fact by the younger Pliny, lib. vii. ep. 27.

Section XXII.

(a) In the conſulſhip of Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, A. U. C. 575, Lucius Villius, tribune of the people, preferred a *rogatio* or bill, which paſſed into a law, to ſettle at what age the different magiſtracies might be obtained. *Eo anno rogatio primum lata eſt ab L. Villio, tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magiſtratum peterent caperentque.* Livy, lib. xl. f. 43. The quæſtorſhip was the firſt office any perſon could bear in the commonwealth, and, by the new regulation, might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 115.

(b) The *Comitia Curiata* owe their original to the diviſion which Romulus made of the people into thirty curiæ, ten being contained in every tribe. They anſwered, in moſt reſpects, to the modern diviſions of cities into pariſhes. Before the inſtitution of the *Comitia Centuriata*,

Centuriata, or aſſemblies of the people in their centuries, which were in number 193, inſtituted by Servius Tullius, all the great concerns of the ſtate were tranſacted in the curias; ſuch as the electing of magiſtrates, the making or abrogating of laws, and the deciſion of capital cauſes. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 129.

Section XXIII.

(a) Gallia *Comata*, a general name for the whole country on this ſide of the Alps. See the Geographical Table.

(b) For the *Veneti* and *Inſubres*, ſee the Geographical Table.

(c) Aleſia was beſieged by Julius Cæſar. The town, ſituated on the ridge of a hill, was almoſt impregnable. It could not be taken by aſſault. Vercingetorix commanded the garriſon. Cæſar formed his lines of circumvallation, and was obliged to ſit down before the place for a conſiderable time. He has left a circumſtantial account of all his operations, and alſo of the ſpeech of CRITOGNATUS, a leading chieftain among the Gauls, when the garriſon, preſſed by famine, debated whether they ſhould capitulate, or ſally out in a body, and die with glory, ſword in hand. Cæſar records this man's ſpeech, on account of its ſingular and nefarious cruelty; *propter ejus ſingularem ac nefariam crudelitatem.* CRITOGNATUS oppoſed all terms of accommodation. To ſally out, he ſaid, might be called an effort of brave deſpair; but it was in fact the puſillanimity of men who dreaded the hardſhips of an approaching famine. But what was the conduct of the ancient Gauls, when beſieged by the Cimbri and the Teutones? Reduced to the laſt diſtreſs, they devoured the bodies of all who were incapable of bearing arms, and held out to the laſt. That, he ſaid, was a glorious precedent: it deſerved to be imitated, and tranſmitted to poſterity. Aleſia, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, ſurrendered at diſcretion, and Vercingetorix was delivered up. Cæſar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vii. ſ. 68 to the end of 89. For ALESIA, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXIV.

(a) It has been mentioned, note *(b)*, ſ. 14, that a ſpeech of Claudius, engraved on a tablet of braſs, has been found at Lyons. It is ſet

forth at length by Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, vol. ii. 4to. page 349, and by Dotteville, vol. iv. page 422. The ſpeech relates to the queſtion ſtated by Tacitus, namely, the admiſſion of the Gauls into the Roman ſenate. The hiſtorian has not given the argument in the form and words of the original ſpeech. He has ſeized the ſubſtance, and expreſſed it with his uſual brevity, in a ſtyle ſuited to an emperor, of whom he ſays, that in his prepared ſpeeches he never wanted elegance. *Nec in Claudio, quoties meditata diſſereret, elegantiam requireres.*

Section XXV.

(*a*) We read in Suetonius, that Julius Cæſar filled up the vacancies in the ſenate, and advanced ſeveral commoners to the rank of patricians. Suet. in Jul. Cæſ. ſ. 41. It ſhould ſeem, from what Tacitus ſays, that he was willing to give colour to his proceedings, and therefore acted under a law called, after Caſſius the conſul for part of the year, the *Caſſian law*. In like manner, Auguſtus adopted the ſame meaſure, and carried it into execution, under the authority of a law enacted in the conſulſhip of Lucius Sænius, who was appointed to the office towards the end of the year, and therefore does not appear in the *Faſti Conſulares*.

(*b*) The number of Roman citizens mentioned in this place would be thought altogether incredible, if the eſtimate were to be underſtood to relate to the inhabitants of the capital: but the queſtion was not, what number dwelt within the walls of the city; it extended to the whole body of the Roman people, wherever ſtationed.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) This was *Mneſter*, the comedian, famous for his adulterous commerce with Meſſalina.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) As the whole hiſtory of Caligula is loſt, the part which Calliſtus acted in the cataſtrophe of that emperor is not to be found in Tacitus. Caſſius Chærea was the chief conſpirator. He drew into his plot a number of leading men, and among them Calliſtus, a freedman

man enriched by the favours of Caligula. To apologize, in ſome degree, for his perfidy and ingratitude, the enfranchiſed ſlave gave out, that he had orders from Caligula to adminiſter poiſon to Claudius. By that ſtory, whether true or falſe, he varniſhed over his treachery to his benefactor, and ſecured his intereſt with the next emperor.

Section XXXVI.

(a) Lateranus was nephew to Aulus Plautius, the famous general who commanded in Britain A. U. C. 796, and ſubdued the ſouthern part of the iſland. See the Life of Agricola, ſ. xiv; and ſ. xvii. note *(d)*.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) Claudius contracted an inceſtuous marriage with the daughter of his brother Germanicus: Agrippina deſtroyed the emperor's ſon Britannicus, and afterwards diſpatched Claudius himſelf, to open the road to empire for her ſon Nero, who, it is well known, was guilty of parricide: and Narciſſus, the favourite freedman, ended his days in a dungeon. Annals, book xiii. ſ. 1.

NOTES

ON THE

TWELFTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section II.

(*a*) SUETONIUS gives an account of the wives of Claudius in regular ſucceſſion. His firſt wife was Plautia Urgulaniilla. Being in a ſhort time divorced from her, he married Ælia Petina, deſcended from a father of conſular rank: by her he had a daughter named Antonia; for whom ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 105. For Ælia Petina, ſee No. 104. Claudius was divorced from his ſecond wife. He then married Meſſalina, and by her had a daughter, Octavia, and a ſon named Britannicus. Lollia Paulina, who aſpired on the preſent occaſion to the imperial bed, had been married to Caligula, and was ſoon divorced. See for her the Genealogical Table, No. 99. Agrippina, the ſucceſsful candidate, was the daughter of Germanicus, the brother of Claudius. For her, ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 93; and for the whole tranſaction as here related by Tacitus, ſee Suet. in Claud. f. 26.

Section III.

(*a*) Domitius, the ſon of Agrippina, was afterwards Nero the emperor. See the Genealogical Table, No. 35.

Section

Section XI.

(*a*) Tiberius had given two kings to the Parthians, viz. Phraates and Tiridates. Annals, book vi. f. 31 and 32.

Section XII.

(*a*) For the Arabs, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XIII.

(*a*) A people who inhabited a part of Meſopotamia. See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Ninos, formerly the celebrated city of *Nineve*, the capital of Aſſyria. See the Geographical Table.

(*c*) This mountain, and the river *Corma*, are mentioned by Tacitus only.

Section XV.

(*a*) Mithridates mentioned in this place was deſcended from the great Mithridates, who waged the long war with the Romans, called the Mithridatic War. Claudius, in a diſtribution of kingdoms among the princes bordering on the Euxine, made the deſcendant of Mithridates king of Boſphorus.

(*b*) The Dandaridæ inhabited a tract of country on the Euxine ſhore. See the Geographical Table.

(*c*) A people near the Palus Mæotis. See the Geographical Table.

Section XVI.

(*a*) The Aorſians were mentioned in the former ſection. See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) For Soza, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*c*) Panda, a river not well known at preſent.

Section XVII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Taurus, a chain of mountains in Aſia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) Achæmenes was grandfather to Cambyſes, and after him the Perſian kings were called ACHÆMENIDÆ.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Suetonius has given ſome particulars of the marriage of Caligula with Lollia Paulina. She was in a diſtant province with her huſband Memmius Regulus, in whoſe conſulſhip Sejanus met his fate. See Annals, v. in the Supplement, f. 32. Regulus, in the time of Caligula, had the command of the army in Syria. Lollia Paulina, his wife, accompanied him to his government. Caligula called her back to Rome, and married her; but was ſoon divorced. Suet. in Calig. f. 25. Pliny the elder deſcribes, with indignation, the immenſe and almoſt incredible wealth, which ſhe diſplayed in her dreſs, and the laboured ornaments of her perſon at the banquet after the marriage ceremony. He ſays, he ſaw her ſinking under the load of diamonds that encumbered her robe, and ſparkled in her hair, her ears, on her neck, her arms and fingers. This profuſion of riches was not the gift of a prodigal emperor; but the ſpoil of plundered provinces, acquired by her grandfather Marcus Lollius, while he commanded the Roman legions in the eaſt. The emperor of Rome exhibited the plunder he had gained by proſcriptions and the murder of Roman citizens; and a woman diſplayed more magnificence, than ever entered into the imagination of the CURII and FABRICII. Pliny, lib. ix. f. 35.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Agrippa was the deſcendant of Herod the Great, who was made king of Judæa by a decree of the ſenate A. U. C. 714, and died in the year 750, about four years before the Chriſtian æra. Agrippa, his grandſon, was thrown into priſon by Tiberius, and reſtored to his kingdom by Caligula. He died A. U. C. 797. Sohemus, mentioned in the text, was deſcended from Sohemus king of Ituræa, who was murdered by Herod A. U. C. 726. See Joſephus; and for Ituræa, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The precinct of the city of Rome was called the POMÆIRUM, as

as the antiquarians ſay, from *ponere mœnia.* The Romans had not the *new lights* that teach the legiſlators of France to make *Atheiſm* the foundation of their wild democracy. After a beginning ſo truly impious and deteſtable, no wonder that we ſee no rule of juſtice, no moral rectitude, no order in their legiſlative aſſembly, and no power in their executive council to enforce obedience to the laws. They have eſtabliſhed civil and religious anarchy: rapine, murder, and every crime that ſhocks humanity have been the conſequence. The Romans had the good ſenſe to ſet out with other principles. Even in that dark age they had an idea of a ſuperintending Providence, and referred every thing to the immortal Gods. The very walls of Rome were conſecrated to tutelar deities, and accordingly conſidered as ſacred. The vacant ſpace on both ſides of the wall was holy ground; *quod neque habitari, neque arari fas erat.* As the city increaſed, the ſame religious ceremony was obſerved. *In urbis incremento ſemper, quantum mœnia proceſſura erant, tantum termini hi conſecrati proferebantur.* Livy, lib. i. ſ. 44. To enlarge the precinct of Rome was called *Jus proferendi pomœrii*; but that right was of ſuch conſequence, that it was allowed to none but thoſe who extended the boundaries of the empire. After the incloſure of the ſeven hills by the kings of Rome, *ſeptemque una ſibi muro circumdedit arces.* Sylla, the dictator, was the firſt who had the honour of widening the Pomœrium, A. U. C. 674. Seneca de Brevit. Vitæ, cap. xiv. Julius Cæſar, after all his victories, claimed the ſame right, A. U. C. 710; and Auguſtus followed his example, A. U. C. 746. Dio, lib. xliii. The number of inhabitants, when Rome was in its flouriſhing ſtate, Lipſius computes at four millions. Brotier has offered a more probable conjecture. He compares Paris and London with Rome; and his numbers, on a fair calculation, are:

Paris — — —	640,000
London — —	768,000
Rome — — —	1,188,000

Brotier proceeds in his eſtimate to the Chineſe empire, where he reckons two hundred million of inhabitants, whereas the number in

Europe is computed at 130 million. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. ii. page 379, 4to edit.

Section XXV.

(a) Attus Clauſus, called afterwards Appius Claudius, has been mentioned, book xi. ſ. 24, as the founder of the Claudian family. We are told the ſame by Virgil:

> Ecce Sabinorum priſco de ſanguine magnum
> Agmen agens CLAUSUS, magnique ipſe agminis inſtar;
> Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
> Per Latium, poſtquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.
>
> ÆNEID. vii. ver. 706.

Section XXVII.

(a) For an account of the Ubians, originally a people of Germany, afterwards changed into a Roman colony, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxviii. note *(g)*.

(b) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXVIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXIX.

(a) Maroboduus being expelled from his dominions, and, under an appearance of protection, detained as a ſtate priſoner at Ravenna, Vannius was made king by Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, A. U. C. 772. Annals, book ii. ſ. 63.

(b) Lygians, a people of Germany. See the Geographical Table.

(c) Jazyges, a people of Sarmatia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXXI.

(a) As Tacitus's account of the ſix firſt years of Claudius is loſt, the invaſion of Britain, under the command of Aulus Plautius, has not occurred either in this book, or that which precedes it. It is, therefore, proper to mention in this place, that, from the deſcent made by

by Julius Cæſar, A. U. C. 699, and, after him, Aulus Plautius was the firſt Roman general that landed in Britain, A. U. C. 796. Veſpaſian, afterwards emperor, ſerved in that expedition. The ſouthern parts of the iſland were reduced to ſubjection. Claudius viſited his new conqueſt, and at his return, having enlarged the Roman empire, entered Rome in triumph. We now find that Oſtorius Scapula ſucceeded to Aulus Plautius. The ſequel will ſhew the ſpirit of liberty that inſpired the Britons, and the conſummate ability with which the Roman general triumphed over a fierce and warlike people. For the ſeveral officers who commanded in Britain, from this time to the arrival of Agricola, A. U. C. 831, ſee the Life of Agricola, ſ. xvii. note *(d)*. For the rivers ANTONA, now the *Avon*; SABRINA, now the *Severn*; and AUFONA, now the *Nen*; ſee the Geographical Table. Camden is of opinion that ANTONA, the *Avon*, has found its way into the text by miſtake, and that the true reading ſhould be AUFONA, the *Nen*. See Camden's Britannia, by Gibſon, 431. Camden's opinion has been followed in the tranſlation.

(b) The *Iceni* inhabited *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and *Huntingdonſhire*. See Life of Agricola, ſ. xi. note *(a)*.

Section XXXII.

(a) The *Cangi* inhabited *Cheſhire*, and part of *Lancaſhire*, oppoſite to Ireland.

(b) *Brigantes*, the people inhabiting *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*.

(c) *Silures*; the people who occupied *Herefordſhire*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Monmouth*, and *Glamorgan*, and in general *South-Wales*.

(d) Camelodunum, now *Colcheſter*.

Section XXXIII.

(a) Caractacus, according to Camden, reigned in the county of *Cardigan*.

(b) *Ordovices*, the people of *North-Wales*.

(c) This ſpot, Camden ſays, was in *Shropſhire*, where the COLUNUS,

now the *Clune*, runs into the TEMDUS, now *Temd*, not far from a hill called *Caer-Carodoc*.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) This river, according to Camden, was the *Temd*.

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) Aulus Plautius, as mentioned ſ. xxxi. note (*a*), invaded Britain A. U. C. 796; an active and warlike chieftain in every campaign againſt the Romans. Tacitus is never better pleaſed, than when he has an opportunity of doing juſtice to the chiefs of foreign nations, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their virtue, their courage, and their love of liberty. See his character of Arminius, Annals, ii. ſ. 88. Caractacus, in like manner, is repreſented in the brighteſt colours; great in the field of battle, and not leſs ſo before the emperor Claudius, in the preſence of the Roman people. Mr. Maſon has formed a noble dramatic poem on the ſubject. He has made a fine uſe of Tacitus in many paſſages, but in none more than in the following lines, which the reader will ſee are a beautiful inſertion from the real ſpeech of Caractacus to the emperor Claudius:

——— Soldier, I had arms;
Had neighing ſteeds to whirl my iron car;
Had wealth, dominion. Doſt thou wonder, Roman,
I fought to ſave them? What, if Cæſar aims
To lord it univerſal o'er the world,
Shall the world tamely crouch at Cæſar's footſtool?

AULUS DIDIUS.

Read in thy fate our anſwer. Yet if ſooner
Thy pride had yielded—

CARACTACUS.

Thank the gods, I did not.
Had it been ſo, the glory of thy maſter,
Like my misfortunes, had been ſhort and trivial,
Oblivion's ready prey. Now, after ſtruggling

Nine

Nine years, and that right bravely, 'gainſt a tyrant,
I am his ſlave to treat as ſeems him good.
If cruelly, 'twill be an eaſy taſk
To bow a wretch, alas! how bow'd already!
Down to the duſt: If well, his clemency,
When trick'd and varniſh'd by your gloſſing penman,
Will ſhine in honour's annals.

If Mr. Maſon has departed from the ſtrict line of hiſtorical truth, he has done it with the privilege of a poet, and his poem is enriched by the fiction. The iſle of Mona was not attacked till A. U. C. 814, when Suetonius Paulinus inveſted the place, ten years after Caractacus was led a priſoner to Rome; nor was that iſland finally reduced till the year 831. See the Life of Agricola, ſ. xviii. Virgil, it is well known, adorned his poem by bringing together Dido and Æneas. The ſame diſregard of chronology may be allowed to the author of Caractacus, ſince, by making his hero take ſanctuary among the DRUIDS in Mona, he has produced the epiſodical incidents of a beautiful piece. But why the honour of taking Caractacus priſoner, and ſending him to Rome, ſhould be transferred from OSTORIUS to AULUS DIDIUS, no good reaſon appears. Didius did not command in Britain till that event was paſſed. On the death of OSTORIUS, he was appointed governor; a tame inactive officer, who did not, as we are told by Tacitus, diſtinguiſh himſelf by one warlike exploit.

Section XL.

(a) It is not to be inferred from this paſſage, that it was a general principle with the Britons not to acquieſce under a female reign. Boadicea, as will be ſeen hereafter, was queen of the Iceni; and ſhe, at the head of her army juſt going to give battle, tells the ſoldiers, "It is not the firſt time that the Britons took the field under the conduct of a woman." Book xiv. ſ. 35. The fact was, the people ſaw a warlike chief oppreſſed by his wife, and therefore reſolved to ſubmit no longer to the tyranny of a woman.

Section XLII.

(*a*) Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, ſiſter of Caligula, the wife of Claudius, and the mother of Nero. Racine, who has many fine inſertions from Tacitus in his tragedy of Britannicus, has imitated this paſſage:

Moi, fille, femme, ſœur, et mere de vos maîtres.

Section XLV.

(*a*) GORNEAS, a caſtle in Armenia, according to D'Anville, now called *Khorien.* For Artaxata and Tigranocerta, ſee the Geographical Table. The ſtory of Rhadamiſtus and Zenobia, which is here related by Tacitus, furniſhed Crébillon, the celebrated French poet, a ſubject for one of his beſt tragedies. Pharaſmanes and his ſon Rhadamiſtus are repreſented, with hiſtorical truth, in all the colours of their guilt; the former, as acceſſary to the death of his brother Mithridates; and the latter, as the murderer of his uncle. Rhadamiſtus, in the end, dies by the hand of his father. In fact, he was afterwards put to death by Pharaſmanes. Annals, xiii. ſ. 37. The Engliſh tragedy of ZENOBIA deviates ſo far from Tacitus, as to repreſent Rhadamiſtus in an amiable light. The fable, or plot, is almoſt entirely new; and the cataſtrophe aims at the paſſions of terror and pity, inſtead of exciting horror; an emotion of the mind, to which the ſtrong but ſombre genius of Crébillon ſeems to have had a peculiar bias.

Section LIII.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays that the law, of which Pallas was the firſt mover, was afterwards enforced by Veſpaſian, who cauſed a decree to paſs, enacting that the woman, who married the ſlave of another perſon, ſhould be deemed a ſlave. Suet. in Veſp. ſ. xi. Pliny the conſul ſays, that he himſelf ſaw, on the Tiburtine road, near the firſt mileſtone, a monument erected to the memory of Pallas, with an inſcription, importing, that the ſenate voted to Pallas the prætorian ornaments, and a ſum of fifteen millions of ſeſterces, as a reward for his fidelity, and regard for his patrons. See book vii. epiſt. 29. In a ſubſequent letter, Pliny mentions the ſame fact again. He ſtates the words

words of the inſcription: *Huic ſenatus, ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos, ornamenta prætoria decrevit, et ſeſtertium centies quinquegies; cujus honore contentus fuit.* Pliny adds, that he had the curioſity to inſpect the decree, and he found the inſcription modeſt, in compariſon with the laviſh praiſe beſtowed upon an inſolent upſtart by the ſenate. Pallas refuſed the money; and to complete the farce, the ſenate voted that the emperor ſhould requeſt a manumitted ſlave to yield to the entreaty of the fathers. Pallas ſtill perſiſted to reject the money, profeſſing to have a ſoul above the love of wealth. It was decreed, that the honours of that arrogant wretch, as well thoſe which he refuſed, as thoſe which he accepted, ſhould be inſcribed on braſs, as a public and laſting monument. See the account at large, Pliny, lib. viii. epiſt. 6.

Section LV.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section LVI.

(*a*) For the lake *Fucinus*, and the river *Liris*, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Suetonius ſays, Claudius attempted the Fucine lake, as much with a view to the glory of the performance, as an expectation of advantage. He finiſhed a canal three miles in length, partly by cutting through, and partly by levelling a mountain; a work of prodigious difficulty, thirty thouſand men having been employed in conſtant labour for eleven years together. Suet. in Claud. ſ. 20.

(*c*) Brotier ſays, the circumference of the lake was ſix-and-twenty miles.

(*d*) Pliny the elder ſays, he himſelf ſaw Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, at the naval ſpectacle, adorned with a magnificent robe wrought in pure gold, without any intermixture of other materials. *Nos vidimus Agrippinam Claudii principis, edente eo navalis prælii ſpectaculum, aſſidentem ei, indutam paludamento, auro textili, ſine aliâ materiâ.* Pliny, lib. xxxiii. ſ. 19.

Section LX.

(*a*) Caius Sempronius Gracchus was the author of a law in favour

vour of the Roman knights, A. U. C. 632. He added three hundred of the equeſtrian order to the ſame number of ſenators, and veſted in that body all judicial authority. The *Servilian* law, introduced by QUINTUS SERVILIUS CÆPIO, in his conſulſhip A. U. C. 648, repealed the *Sempronian* inſtitution, and reſtored the juriſdiction of the ſenate.

Section LXI.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXII.

(*a*) Now *Conſtantinople*. See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) An obſcure man of the name of Andriſcus pretended to be the ſon of Perſeus. He was found to be an impoſtor, and therefore called Pſeudophilippus. He was defeated, and taken priſoner by Metellus, A. U. C. 606.

(*c*) Antiochus III. king of Syria, waged war againſt the Romans, and was conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, A. U. C. 564. Perſeus, king of Macedonia, was ſubdued by Paulus Æmilius, A. U. C. 586. Ariſtonicus invaded Aſia, and was overthrown by Perperna, A. U. C. 623.

(*d*) The people of Cilicia fitted out a number of armed ſhips, and over-ran the Mediterranean. This was called the Piratic War. Marcus Antonius, ſon of the famous orator of that name, and father of Antony the triumvir, was ſent, with extraordinary powers given to him in his commiſſion, to clear the ſeas of thoſe roving freebooters, A. U. C. 684. The war however was not brought to a concluſion. In the year 687, the ſame commiſſion was given to Pompey, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition of Quintus Catulus, who thought that Pompey was growing too great for his country, and therefore entered his public proteſt againſt truſting the commonwealth to the hands of one man. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 31; and ſee Cicero, Pro Lege Manilia.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) Monteſquieu makes an ingenious uſe of this paſſage: Having beſtowed his encomium on the Britiſh conſtitution, he obſerves that

Harrington, in his *Oceana*, has ſtrained his idea of liberty to ſo high a pitch, that it may amuſe in theory, but never can exiſt in practice. He built CHALCEDON, when he had BYZANTIUM before his eyes. Spirit of Laws, vol. i. page 324.

Section LXIV.

(a) Domitia Lepida is ſaid in the original to have been the daughter of the younger Antonia. But this, according to Suetonius, is a miſtake. Antony the triumvir had two daughters, each called Antonia, by Octavia, the ſiſter of Auguſtus. The eldeſt, Suetonius ſays, was married to Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, and by him was the mother of Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, the firſt huſband of Agrippina, and by her the father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 32, 33 and 34. Antonia the younger was married to Druſus, the brother of Tiberius, and by him was the mother of Germanicus and the emperor Claudius. See her character, Annals, iv. in the Supplement, ſ. 27; and ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 42.

Section LXVI.

(a) For Sinueſſa, ſee the Geographical Table. The waters of this place are recommended for their ſalubrity by Pliny the elder, lib. xxxi. ſ. 2.

Section LXIX.

(a) The thirteenth of October.

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

THIRTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) THIS was Marcus Junius Silanus, the ſon of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, the grand-daughter of Auguſtus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 55, 56 and 57.

(*b*) See Annals, xii. ſ. 57 and 65.

Section III.

(*a*) Nero's paſſion for the elegant arts, had he known how to reſtrain it within due bounds, might have been not unworthy of a prince; but we ſhall ſee him in the ſequel as ridiculous for his taſte, as he was deteſtable for his vices.

Section IV.

(*a*) See the trial of Valerius Aſiaticus in the apartment of Claudius, Annals, xi. ſ. 2.

(*b*) This ſpeech gave univerſal ſatisfaction. It was, probably, written by Seneca. While it promiſed a reign of moderation, it ſerved to give the young prince a leſſon on the true and popular arts of government. Dio tells us, that the ſenate ordered it to be engraved on a pillar of ſolid ſilver, and to be publicly read every year at the time when the conſuls entered on their magiſtracy. Dio, lib. lxi.

Section V.

(*a*) This corrupt practice, which was nothing leſs than open bribery, was eſtabliſhed by law in the reign of Claudius. Annals, xi. ſ. 22.

Section VII.

(*a*) Agrippa was king of Judæa; Antiochus, of Commagene. See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) The Leſſer Armenia was on this ſide of the Euphrates. See the Geographical Table. Ariſtobulus was the ſon of Herod, who formerly reigned in *Chalcis*.

(*c*) For the country called Sophene, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section VIII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section XI.

(*a*) For Plautius Lateranus, ſee Annals, xi. ſ. 36.

Section XII.

(*a*) Acte was a purchaſed ſlave from Aſia. Suetonius ſays that Nero, being at one time determined to marry her, ſuborned ſeveral men of conſular rank to ſwear that ſhe was of royal deſcent. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 28.

(*b*) Otho, afterwards emperor.

Section XIII.

(*a*) Annæus Serenus was high in the eſteem and friendſhip of Seneca, as appears, epiſt. lxiii.

Section XIV.

(*a*) Pallas was the perſon who prevailed on Claudius to contract an inceſtuous marriage with his niece Agrippina. From that time his influence was beyond all bounds. Suetonius ſays he was the prince's treaſurer: *Pallantem a rationibus*. The decree of the ſenate in honour of this inſolent freedman has been mentioned, Annals, xii. ſ. 53, and

note (*a*). Suetonius ſays, that Pallas and Narciſſus plundered the public with ſuch violent rapacity, that Claudius at length complained of the impoveriſhed ſtate of his exchequer, when it was archly ſaid, his *coffers would be full enough, if his two freedmen would take him into partnerſhip.* Suet. in Claud. ſ. 28. The diſmiſſion of ſuch a man from court, and all his employments, was a fatal blow to Agrippina. The ſpeech in which ſhe gives vent to her indignation is finely imitated by Racine, in his tragedy of Britannicus:

Pallas n'emporte pas tout l'appui d'Agrippine;
Le ciel m'en laiſſe aſſez pour venger ma ruine.
Le fils de Claudius commence à reſſentir
Des crimes, dont je n'ai que le ſeul repentir.
J'irai, n'en doutez point, le montrer à l'armée;
Plaindre aux yeux des ſoldats ſon enfance opprimée;
Leur faire, à mon exemple, expier leur erreur,
On verra, d'un coté, le fils d'un empereur
Redemandant la foi jurée à ſa famille;
Et de Germanicus on attendra la fille:
De l'autre, l'on verra le fils d'Ænobarbus,
Appuyé de Seneque, et du tribun Burrhus;
Qui tous deux, de l'exil rappellés par moi-même,
Partagent à mes yeux l'autorité ſuprême.
De nos crimes communs je veux qu'on ſoit inſtruit;
On ſçaura les chemins par où je l'ai conduit.
J'avoûrai les rumeurs les plus injurieuſes:
Je confeſſerai tout, exils, aſſaſſinats,
Poiſon même . . . . . .

Section XV.

(*a*) The Saturnalia began on the ſeventeenth of December, and laſted fifteen days. Horace ſays to his ſlave, who wants to exerciſe the *equality* allowed during the feſtival,

——— Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere; narra.

(*b*) In

(*b*) In this play of *Who ſhall be King?* the boys threw dice to decide their chance. Horace alludes to this cuſtom, when he ſays,

Non regna vini ſortiere talis.

Lib. i. ode 4.

And again,

Roſcia, dic ſodes, melior lex, an puerorum
Nænia, quæ regnum rectè facientibus offert.

Lib. i.

(*c*) The commentators cite ſome verſes of Ennius, which they ſuppoſe were ſung by Britannicus on this occaſion. But what they ſay is mere conjecture.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) They took the palaces, villas, and eſtates of Britannicus.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Seneca calls Balbillus the beſt of men, and a ſcholar of uncommon erudition. *Virorum optimus, in omni literarum genere rariſſimus.* See Quæſt. Nat. cap. iv. ſ. 2.

(*b*) The Romans had three ways of exterminating a man from his country; namely, *Exilium*, *Relegatio*, and *Deportatio*. The perſon condemned to exile loſt the rights of a citizen, and forfeited all kinds of property. Sentence of relegation removed the perſon to a certain diſtance from Rome; but, if no fine was impoſed, it took away no other right. *Deportation* was invented by Auguſtus. It was the ſevereſt kind of baniſhment. The perſon condemned was hurried away in chains, ſtripped of all property, and confined to ſome iſland or inhoſpitable place.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) The Romans had two different modes of enfranchiſement, or of granting freedom to their ſlaves. The firſt was performed by the prætor, who ordered the ſlave to turn round, and with a ſwitch or cane ſtruck him on the head or back, informing him that he was thereby manumitted. The ſecond way of granting freedom was by writing under the maſter's hand, or by his voluntary declaration in the

preſence of a few friends. The moſt ſolemn mode of manumiſſion was that by the rod, called *Vindicta:* hence Perſeus the ſatiriſt ſays, *Vindictâ poſtquam meus a prætore receſſi.* The perſon ſo enfranchiſed, obtained all the rights of a Roman citizen. The ſecond form of manumiſſion conveyed to the ſlave a degree of liberty, but did not rank him in the claſs of citizens, nor allow him to be in any caſe a legal witneſs. The conſequence was, that the patron, who granted freedom by his own private act, had time to conſider, whether the ſlave, whom he releaſed, was worthy of a further favour. He might, if he thought proper, inveſt him with all the rights of a citizen by the more ſolemn mode of manumiſſion before the prætor. See Heineccius, Antiquit. Roman. Juriſ. i. tit. 4 and 5.

(b) Paris the comedian was a ſlave belonging to Domitia, the emperor's aunt. See the Genealogical Table, No. 40. He had paid a ſum of money for the degree of liberty, which her private act conferred, and ſtill remained in her liſt of freedmen. Aſpiring above that rank, he pretended to be ingenuous by his birth, and, by conſequence, intitled to all the rights of a Roman citizen; and his plea, we find, was admitted. It is ſaid that Domitia was obliged to repay to the pantomime actor, the money which ſhe had received for his freedom.

Section XXIX.

(a) It has been already obſerved, that *Ærarium* was the treaſury of the public; *Fiſcus*, that of the prince. Pliny the elder ſays, that, in the time of the republic, when the private exchequer of the emperor was a thing unknown, the money in the treaſury, A. U. C. 663, amounted to a prodigious ſum. It was ſtill greater when Julius Cæſar, in the beginning of the civil war, A. U. 705, made himſelf maſter of all the riches of the commonwealth. From that time the diſſipation of the emperors, and the rapacity of their favourites, effectually drained the *Ærarium*, and impoveriſhed the ſtate.

Section XXXI.

(a) This amphitheatre was built entirely with wood. Suetonius ſays it was completed within the year; and that Nero, in the public ſpectacles

ſpectacles which he exhibited, gave orders that none of the combatants ſhould be ſlain, not even the criminals employed upon that occaſion. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 12. See Pliny, lib. xvi. ſ. 40.

(b) A tax on all commodities expoſed to ſale was impoſed by Auguſtus, in the conſulſhip of Metellus and Nerva, A. U. C. 755. Dio ſays it was at firſt the fiftieth penny, but we find that in time the ſum was doubled.

Section XXXII.

(a) This was Aulus Plautius, who, in the reign of Claudius, made the firſt deſcent on Britain. See the Life of Agricola.

(b) Lipſius and other commentators are of opinion, that what is here called a foreign ſuperſtition, was the Chriſtian religion.

(c) Suetonius tells us, that Claudius put to death the two Julias, the daughters of Druſus and Germanicus, without any proof of guilt, and without ſo much as hearing them in their defence, A. U. C. 796. Suet. in Claud. ſ. 29.

Section XXXIII.

(a) See this book, ſ. 1.

Section XXXIV.

(a) Corvinus Meſſala was joint conſul with Auguſtus, A. U. C. 723. For more of him, ſee the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Section XXXVI.

(a) This mode of puniſhment was eſtabliſhed by ancient uſage. Livy relates, that the cohorts, which had loſt their colours, were obliged to remain on the outſide of the camp, without their tents, and were found in that condition by Valerius Maximus the dictator. *Cohortes, quæ ſigna amiſerant, extra vallum ſine tentoriis deſtitutas invenit dictator Valerius Maximus.* Livy, lib. x. ſ. 4.

Section XXXVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) For the Hyrcanians, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section

Section XXXIX.

(a) For Trebizonde, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) Lipſius ſays, this caſtle is mentioned by no other ancient author.

(c) See the Geographical Table.

(d) For the Araxes, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XLII.

(a) For this man, Suillius, ſee Annals, iv. f. 31; Annals, xi. f. 1.

(b) For the Cincian law againſt the venality of orators, ſee Annals, xi. f. 5 and 7.

(c) This was Julia, the daughter of Germanicus. Seneca was accuſed of an intrigue with her, and baniſhed by Claudius to the iſle of Corſica, A. U. C. 794. He was recalled by the influence of Agrippina, Annals, xii. f. 8.

(d) The charge of uſury, with which the memory of Seneca is loaded, reſts chiefly on the authority of Dio. By that hiſtorian we are told that the philoſopher had placed immenſe ſums at intereſt in Britain, and, by his vexatious and unrelenting demands of payment, was the cauſe of inſurrections among the Britons. Dio's veracity has been queſtioned, but the paſſage in Tacitus gives ſome colour to the charge.

Section XLIII.

(a) Quintus Pomponius has been mentioned before; Annals, vi. f. 18. For the death of Sabina Poppæa, ſee Annals, xi. f. 2.

(b) For the Baleares, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XLIV.

(a) In this account of the varying paſſions of lovers, Tacitus ſeems to have had his eye on the paſſage in Terence:

> In amore hæc omnia inſunt vitia: injuriæ,
> Suſpiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
> Bellum, pax rurſum. EUNUCH. act. i. f. 14.

(b) He was ſent into baniſhment. Hiſtory, iv. f. 44.

Section

Section XLV.

(a) Probably the ſame who was conſul A. U. C. 762.

(b) Her mother Poppæa has been mentioned, Annals, xi. ſ. 1 and 2.

(c) The name of the ſon was Rufinus Criſpinus, who, we are told by Suetonius, was thrown into the ſea by order of Nero, becauſe he was reported to act among his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 35. Otho, who ſucceeded ſo well with Poppæa, was afterwards emperor.

Section XLVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Brotier ſays, now *Villa Belloni* and *Villa Veroſpi*, near the gate called *Salara*.

Section XLVIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section L.

(a) The oppreſſions exerciſed by this claſs of men are often mentioned by Tacitus, Livy, and other Roman hiſtorians.

Section LI.

(a) See Monteſquieu on this ſubject, Spirit of Laws, book xiii. ch. 19.

Section LII.

(a) Sulpicius Camerinus, with his ſon, was afterwards put to death by Nero. See Appendix to the xvith book of the Annals.

Section LIII.

(a) Druſus, the father of Germanicus, died in Germany A. U. C. 745. He had finiſhed a canal, as mentioned Annals, ii. ſ. 8; and to prevent the overflowings of the Rhine, which often deluged the adjacent parts of Gaul, he laid the plan of a ſtrong bank, by which the waters would have been thrown into a different courſe, and diſcharged into the lakes, now the *Zuyder-zee*. This great work was at length finiſhed by Paulinus Pompeius.

(b) The

(*b*) The *Arar* is now the *Soane*. Brotier obſerves, that this great undertaking, tending to communicate the Mediterranean and the Ocean, often attempted, and as often abandoned, was at length accompliſhed, to the immortal glory of Lewis XIV. That imperial work, worthy of a king, is now called the *Royal Canal*, or the Canal of *Languedoc*.

Section LIV.

(*a*) For the Friſians, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Pliny the elder ſays, that Pompey's theatre was large enough to hold forty thouſand men. Pliny, lib. xxxvi. ſ. 15.

(*c*) The Germans had no idea of any kind of public ſpectacle but that which they had ſeen in their own country. Manners of the Germans, ſ. xxiv.

Section LV.

(*a*) The country into which the irruption was made, is ſuppoſed to be the land between *Weſel* and *Duſſeldorf*. The Anſibarians, before they were expelled by the Chaucians, inhabited between the river *Amiſia* (the *Ems*) and the *Rhine*.

(*b*) The revolt of the Cheruſcans, in which Varus and his three legions periſhed. Annals, book i. ſ. 10.

(*c*) For the Chamavians, the Tubantes, and Uſipians, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. 32 and 33.

Section LVI.

(*a*) For the Bructerians and Tencterians, ſee the Manners of the Germans, ſ. 32 and 33.

(*b*) The country on the borders of the river *Luppia*, now the *Lippe*.

Section LVII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) This was the river *Sala*, ſtill known by the ſame name. It diſcharges itſelf into the *Albis*, now the *Elbe*.

(*c*) This method of producing ſalt is explained by Pliny in his Natural Hiſtory, lib. xxxi. ſ. 7.

Section LVIII.

(a) It was ſuppoſed that under the ſhade of this tree Romulus and Remus were nouriſhed by the ſhe-wolf, as beautifully deſcribed by Virgil:

Fecerat et viridi fœtam Mavortis in antro
Procubuiſſe lupam: Geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
Impavidos; illam tereti cervice revulſam
Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ.

ÆNEID, lib. viii.

Rumen was an old Latin word for *mamma*, or the dug of the ſhe-wolf: thence the tree was called RUMINALIS.

(b) Some of the commentators think that there is a miſtake in the computation, and that it ought to be eight hundred and thirty years. The difference is not material.

NOTES

ON THE

FOURTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) OTHO, afterwards emperor. See book xiii. ſ. 45 and 46.

Section II.

(*a*) Acte has been already mentioned, Annals, xiii. ſ. 12.

(*b*) Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 54.

Section III.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

Section IV.

(*a*) A feaſt in honour of Minerva, beginning on the nineteenth of March, and continued for five days. See Ovid, Faſt. lib. iii. ver. 713 and 810.

(*b*) *Bauli*, formerly the ſeat of Hortenſius, was famous for great plenty of fiſh; hence at this day the name of *Peſchiera d'Ortenſio*.

Section V.

(*a*) The Lucrine Lake, now *Lago Lucrino*. Agrippina's villa was at *Bauli*. There is in the neighbourhood a place now called *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

Section

Section IX.

(a) It is ſtill called, as mentioned above, *Sepolchro d'Agrippina.*

(b) Marius, Pompey, and Cæſar had their villas in the neighbourhood of *Baiæ*, all built on the ridge of hills, and looking, as Seneca ſays, more like military works than a rural ſeat. *Scias non villas eſſe, ſed caſtra.* Epiſt. 51.

Section XI.

(*a*) See her attempt prevented by Seneca, Annals, xiii. f. 5.

Section XII.

(a) This eclipſe was the day before the kalends of May, that is, on the 30th of April, A. U. C. 812; of the Chriſtian æra 59. See Pliny, lib. ii. f. 70.

(*b*) For Junia Calvina, ſee Annals, xii. f. 8; and the Genealogical Table, No. 62. For Calpurnia, Annals, xii. f. 22.

(*c*) For Lollia Paulina, ſee Annals, xii. f. 22.

(d) Iturius and Calviſius baniſhed by Nero; Annals, xiii. f. 22.

(e) Silana was alſo baniſhed by Nero; Annals, xiii. f. 22.

Section XIV.

(a) This was a circus begun by Caligula, and finiſhed by Nero. The church of St. Peter is built on this ſpot, and the obeliſk which ſtood there, was placed before St. Peter's, at a vaſt expence, by Pope Sextus V.

Section XV.

(a) We are told by Dio, that Ælia Catella, a woman of four-ſcore, expoſed herſelf and old age to ſcorn, by dancing on the ſtage, among the court ſycophants of the time. Dio, lib. lxi.

(b) Suetonius ſays, that the leaders of this new ſociety had ſalaries of forty thouſand ſeſterces allowed them. In Neron. f. 20.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Brotier compares this poetical patchwork to the *bouts rimés*, which exerciſed the minor poets of France in the laſt century.

Section XVII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) It does not appear when this man was expelled the ſenate. The account of that affair is loſt. It is probable that this is the Livineus Regulus, who is mentioned, Annals, iii. f. 11.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) He was afterwards reſtored to his rank. Hiſt. i. f. 17. For the Cyrenians, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) This African king, according to Livy, epitome lxx. died A. U. C. 658, and left all his poſſeſſions to the Roman people.

Section XIX.

(*a*) Domitius Afer was a man of ambition, willing to advance his fortune by the worſt of crimes. *Quoquo facinore properus clareſcere.* Annals, iv. f. 52. He is praiſed by Quintilian as an orator of conſiderable eloquence. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Section XX.

(*a*) Suetonius informs us, that Nero was the firſt that inſtituted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of ſkill in the three ſeveral arts of muſic, wreſtling, and horſe-racing, to be performed every five years, which he called *Neronia.* In Neron. f. 12.

(*b*) This theatre has been mentioned, book xiii. f. 54. It was built A. U. C. 699.

(*c*) Among the Roman knights there were four *Decuriæ* appointed to exerciſe juriſdiction. Suetonius ſays, that Caligula, to relieve the judges from the fatigue of buſineſs, added a fifth claſs to the former four. In Calig. f. 16.

Section XXI.

(*a*) The pantomime performers were brought to Rome from *Tuſcany*, A. U. C. 390. Livy, lib. vii. f. 2.

(*b*) The people called *Thurii* inhabited part of Lucania. The ſpectacle of horſe-races was invented by them, and exhibited at Rome A. U. C. 140. Livy, lib. i. f. 35.

(*c*) Lucius

(*c*) Lucius Mummius conquered Corinth, A. U. C. 608, and obtained the title of *Achaicus*. Velleius Paterc. lib. i. ſ. 13.

Section XXII.

(*a*) This place received its name from its proximity to the Simbruine Lakes, and was thence called *Sublaqueum*. Brotier ſays, it is now *La Badia di Subjaco*.

(*b*) The Marcian waters were conveyed to Rome in aqueducts of great labour and expence by Ancus Marcius, one of the Roman kings. See Pliny, lib. xxxi. ſ. 3.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) See Annals, xiii. ſ. 41.

(*b*) See the Geographical Table.

(*c*) For the Mardians, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) For the Tauranitii, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XXV.

(*a*) The ſhorteſt way to Hyrcania was by the Caſpian Sea; but, for the reaſon given by Tacitus, the *Red Sea* was thought more eligible.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) Tiridates was brother to Vologeſes, the Parthian king. See Annals, xii. ſ. 51; and book xiii. ſ. 37 and 41.

(*b*) Archelaus was king of Cappadocia. See Annals, ii. ſ. 42.

(*c*) Pharaſmanes has been often mentioned as king of *Iberia*; Polemon, king of *Pontus*; Ariſtobulus, king of *Armenia Minor*; and Antiochus, of *Commagene*.

(*d*) See Annals, xii. ſ. 45.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) For Laodicea, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, Nero ſtruck off the ſupernumerary candidates, and, to make them ſome compenſation for the delay of their hopes, aſſigned them poſts of honour in the legions. In Neron. ſ. 15.

(*b*) The ſum, by way of penalty for a frivolous and vexatious appeal, was one third of the money in diſpute between the parties. The words of the law were, *Aſſertor, ſi provocet, in ejuſmodi tertiam cavere debet, quanti cauſa æſtimata eſt.*

(*c*) The people of Mauritania.

(*d*) For an account of Vibius Criſpus, an advocate who accumulated immenſe riches, ſee the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 8.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) Petronius Turpilianus, during his conſulſhip, was the author of a law, called *Lex Petronia*, by which the maſter was no longer at liberty, at his will and pleaſure, to compel any of his ſlaves to fight the wild beaſts; but a juſt ground of complaint appearing before the proper magiſtrate, that mode of puniſhment was enforced. *Dominis poteſtas ablata eſt ad beſtias depugnandas ſuo arbitrio ſervos tradendi. Oblato tamen judici ſervo, ſi juſta ſit domini querela, ſic pœnæ tradetur.* Digeſt. lib. xlviii. tit. 8. He was alſo the author of a decree, called the *Turpilian Decree*, by which all, who began a proſecution, and either haraſſed the defendant by delays, or abandoned the cauſe, were ſubjected to heavy penalties. Two regulations ſo juſt, that it is wonderful, ſays Brotier, how they eſcaped the notice of Tacitus.

(*b*) For the inactivity and unwarlike ſpirit of Aulus Didius, ſee Annals, xii. ſ. 40; and Life of Agricola, ſ. 14.

(*c*) For the Silures, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*d*) Mona, now *Angleſey*.

Section XXX.

(*a*) For an account of the Druids, ſee Cæſar's Commentaries.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) Praſutagus, king of the Icenians. See the Geographical Table.

The

The outrages committed by the Romans are ſtrongly painted by the late Mr. Glover, after his maſter Tacitus.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) The world at that time was overcaſt by the gloom of ſuperſtition. The Romans often knew how to avail themſelves of it; but the Barbarians in this inſtance had the advantage.

(*b*) Houſes ſeemed to be inverted in the water; but the laws of optics were not conſidered by the Britons. In their minds every thing was a prognoſtic.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) London, even at that time, was the ſeat of trade and commerce. If it has gone on increaſing for above 1700 years, till it is now become the greateſt city in the world, it is becauſe induſtry has been protected by a conſtitution, which has improved during the whole time, and is now the wonder and the envy of ſurrounding nations.

(*b*) Verulanum, now *Verulam* near *St. Albans*, in *Hertfordſhire*. The great Bacon has made the name immortal.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) Dio has put into the mouth of Boadicea, a long, a tedious, and enervate ſpeech.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) According to Camden, the camp of the ſecond legion was in *Monmouthſhire*, at a place called, by the Britons, KAER LHEION, *Urbs Legionis*, the city of the legions. The place where this battle was fought is not aſcertained; but it is evident that Suetonius had collected his forces from all quarters.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) There is reaſon to infer from a paſſage in the Hiſtory, book i. ſ. 59, that the eight auxiliary cohorts were Batavians.

Section

Section XL.

(*a*) Antonius Primus will be ſeen, in the Hiſtory of Tacitus, acting the part of an able general.

(*b*) The man who thinks poverty the worſt of evils, will not be long before he thinks honeſty a ragged virtue. Seneca has left a very different maxim. *Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper ſis oportet, aut pauperi ſimilis.* Epiſt. xvii.

(*c*) The Cornelian law was enacted by Cornelius Sylla the dictator, who made baniſhment to an iſland the ſentence to be paſſed on all who ſhould ſuppreſs a true will, or forge a falſe one. It appears however in the Hiſtory, book ii. f. 86, that Antonius was only expelled the ſenate.

Section XLI.

(*a*) That puniſhment was either *exile*, *relegation* to an iſland, or degradation from the offender's rank. *Omnes enim calumniatores exilii, vel inſulæ relegatione, aut ordinis amiſſione puniri placuit.* See Julius Paulus, De Injuriis, leg. xi.

Section XLII.

(*a*) Slaves were in the habit of ſaving money in order to purchaſe their freedom. See the caſe of Paris the comedian, book xiii. f. 27. See alſo Seneca, epiſt. lxxx.

(*b*) Caius Caſſius has been mentioned to his honour, book xii. f. 12.

Section XLV.

(*a*) See a decree of the ſenate on this ſubject, Annals, xiii. f. 32.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) See book xii. f. 59.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) Pliny the elder, lib. xv. f. 4, ſays, that the Greeks, the inventors of every kind of vice, were the firſt that made oil ſubſervient to the corruption of manners, by diſtributing it at their public ſpectacles. *Uſum olei ad luxuriam vertere Græci, vitiorum omnium genitores, in Gymnaſiis publicando.*

Section XLVIII.

(*a*) See Annals, xiii. f. 28.

(*b*) Capito was formerly accuſed by the people of Cilicia, and convicted of oppreſſion and extortion. Annals, xiii. f. 33.

(*c*) The tribunitian power was aſſumed by Auguſtus, as he ſaid, for the purpoſe of protecting the people. *Ad tuendam plebem tribunicio jure contentum ſe ferebat.* Annals, i. f. 2. It was, in fact, the whole executive power of the ſtate veſted in one man, who could, at his will and pleaſure, controul the ſenate and all the magiſtrates.

(*d*) By this judgment Antiſtius was to ſuffer *more majorum*, that is, as Suetonius explains it, to be faſtened ſtark naked by the neck within a forked ſtick, and ſcourged to death. Suet. in Neron. f. 49.

Section XLIX.

(*a*) The ſenate often decided, without calling on each member for his opinion, by *dividing the houſe*; *per diſceſſionem.* Pliny the younger deſcribes the manner of doing it: You who think ſo, go to that ſide; as many as are of a contrary opinion, go to this ſide. *Lex ita diſceſſionem fieri jubet: qui hæc ſentitis in hanc partem; qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite quâ ſentitis.* Plinius, lib. viii. ep. 14.

(*b*) This was Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

Section L.

(*a*) This man was one of the pernicious race of informers in the reign of Domitian. Juvenal mentions him, ſat. iv. ver. 123.

Section LI.

(*a*) Tigellinus roſe from obſcurity to be high in favour with Nero. He was the grand teacher of debauchery and every vice. Juvenal has recorded him, ſat. i. ver. 155. See an account of the prodigious banquet given by this man, Annals, xv. f. 37.

Section LII.

(*a*) It is not ſettled among the critics, whether Seneca did not write ſome of the tragedies that bear his name.

Section LIII.

(*a*) Agrippa, in the year of Rome 731, retired to the iſle of *Leſbos*, now *Metelin*.

(*b*) Mæcenas had a houſe and magnificent gardens near Mount Eſquiline. Pliny ſays, that the practice of having pleaſure-grounds within the walls of a city, was unknown, till Epicurus led the way at Athens. *Primus hoc inſtituit Athenis Epicurus, otii magiſter. Uſque ad eum moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura.* Pliny, lib. xix. f. 4. The gardens of Epicurus are become proverbial.

(*c*) Seneca was a native of Spain; born at *Corduba*, now *Cordoue*.

(*d*) Seneca had a number of villas and extenſive gardens. Juvenal mentions

—— Magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos.

SAT. x. ver. 16.

The name of one of his villas was *Nomentanum*, as appears epiſt. cx. where he ſays, *Ex Nomentano meo te ſaluto.*

(*e*) This confirms the account given by Dio of his immoderate riches; but perhaps that hiſtorian exaggerates, when he imputes inſurrections in Britain to the exactions of Seneca.

Section LVI.

(*a*) In the Annals, book xi. we have ſeen Vitellius conſul for the third time.

(*b*) Voluſius has been mentioned as an honeſt man, who acquired his wealth by honourable means, and lived to a great age. Annals, xiii. f. 30.

Section LVII.

(*a*) For Rubellius Plautus, ſee this book, f. 22. For Cornelius Sylla, ſee book xiii. f. 47.

(*b*) Rubellius Plautus was the ſon of Rubellius Blandus and Julia. See the Genealogical Table, No. 76.

Section LIX.

(*a*) This philoſopher is praiſed by Pliny as an author of diſtinguiſhed

ed merit. Muſonius has been alſo much commended for his moral doctrine.

(b) Her father, the emperor Claudius.

Section LXI.

(a) This was Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, mentioned in ſ. lx.

Section LXII.

(a) For Anicetus, the murderer of Agrippina, ſee this book, ſ. 7.

Section LXIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Julia, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was baniſhed by the emperor Claudius, A. U. C. 794.

(c) The emperor Claudius her father, and her brother Britannicus, were both poiſoned. See Annals, xii. ſ. 67; and Annals, xiii. ſ. 16.

Section LXIV.

(a) Nero was adopted by Claudius her father, and conſequently was brother to Octavia.

Section LXV.

(a) Doriphorus, according to Dio, was private ſecretary to Nero. Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, has been often mentioned. He was diſmiſſed from all his employments by Nero. See Annals, xiii. ſ. 14. Brotier ſays that his monument was found near Rome, in the year 1720.

(b) For more of Piſo, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 48.

NOTES

ON THE

FIFTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(a) TIGRANES, deſcended from the nobility of Cappadocia, was ſent by Nero to aſcend the throne of Armenia. Annals, xiv. ſ. 26.

Section IV.

(a) The walls were fifty cubits high, as we are told by Appian, in his Hiſtory of the Mithridatic War.

(b) For this river, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section V.

(a) For the city of Niſibis, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section X.

(a) Arſamoſata, a city of Armenia, near the Euphrates, now *Simſat*.

Section XII.

(a) He is called in the original, *Primi Pili Centurio*, that is, firſt centurion. He has been mentioned, book xiii. ſ. 36, by the name of Pactius Orphitus.

(b) The civic crown for ſaving the life of a citizen, was often granted

granted by the emperor; but the conſular commanders had the ſame power at the head of their armies.

Section XIII.

(a) The Roman army defeated by the Samnites, paſſed under the yoke at the *Caudinæ Furcæ*, now *Forchié*, A. U. C. 183. A more terrible defeat happened afterwards at Numantia, A. U. C. 617. The place is now called *Numancia*, and the ruins of antiquity are ſtill to be ſeen.

Section XV.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Suetonius ſays expreſsly, that the legions paſſed under the yoke. In Neron. f. 39.

Section XIX.

(a) It was a ſettled rule of law, that in all elections for the magiſtracy, or the government of provinces, the preference ſhould be given to the candidate who had the greateſt number of children. See Annals, ii. f. 51.

(b) By the law Papia Poppæa, the eſtates of thoſe who did not entitle themſelves to the privileges annexed to the paternal ſtate, were to devolve to the public as the common parent of all. Annals, iii. f. 28.

Section XX.

(a) The Cincian Law againſt venal advocates has been mentioned, Annals, xi. f. 5. Laws were alſo eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, called *Leges Juliæ*, to prevent bribery at elections. Suet. in Aug. f. 34 and 40.

(b) The Calpurnian Law was introduced by Lucius Calpurnius Piſo, *de pecuniis repetundis*, to compel reſtitution from ſuch as were convicted of extortion, A. U. C. 605, in the beginning of the third Punic war. It was followed from time to time by new decrees, but all proved ineffectual.

Section XXII.

(a) It was a frequent practice of the provinces, to ſend a deputation

to

to the ſenate, with an addreſs of thanks to the proconſuls or prætors, who were returned to Rome, for the bleſſings enjoyed by the people under their adminiſtration; and this contrivance ſerved to advance the fame of the men who condeſcended to intrigue for applauſe, and thereby open their road to the higheſt honours of the ſtate. See the Panegyric of Trajan, by Pliny the conſul, ſ. 70.

(b) Seneca gives an account of this earthquake, but he places it in the following year. See Quæſt. Natural. queſt. vi. ſ. 1. Pompeii is now called *Torre dell' Annunciata.* It was afterwards totally overwhelmed by the eruption of Mount Veſuvius, A. U. C. 832.

Section XXIII.

(a) The worſhip paid to Fortune as a goddeſs is well known from Horace, lib. i. ode 35. *O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium.* There were two goddeſſes of fortune adored in that city; one, the *Happy*; the other, the *Equeſtrian.*

(b) Nero by his father was of the Domitian family, and by adoption of the Claudian. See the Genealogical Table, No. 35.

Section XXIV.

(a) For more of the Parthian ſuperſtition, and the ſcruples of Tiridates, ſee the Appendix to the Annals, xvi.

Section XXV.

(a) Pompey was employed as commander in chief in the Piratic war, with a commiſſion giving to him ſupreme authority in every province to the extent of fifty miles from the ſea coaſt. By the decree of the ſenate on that occaſion, Velleius Paterculus obſerves, almoſt the whole Roman world was ſubjected to the will of one man. *Quo ſenatus conſulto pæne totius orbis terrarum imperium uni viro deferebatur.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. ſ. 31. See Plutarch, Life of Pompey.

Section XXVI.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) This ſuperſtitious ceremony is deſcribed by Livy. The ſoldiers were

were drawn out on an open plain, and crowned with laurel wreaths, while victims were ſacrificed to the god of war. The general harangued his men upon the occaſion. Livy, lib. i. ſ. 28.

Section XXVII.

(a) Lucullus commanded the legions in Armenia, A. U. C. 685. See Plutarch, Life of Lucullus.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Tiberius Alexander was by birth one of the Jewiſh nation, but an apoſtate from the religion of his country. Joſephus, Jewiſh Antiq. lib. xx. ſ. 5. The emperors frequently ſent their choſen favourites to attend the general, but, in fact, to be ſpies upon his conduct.

(b) Not yet five-and-twenty.

Section XXX.

(a) The night in a Roman camp was divided into four watches, each for the ſpace of three hours. When the ſentinels were changed, notice was given by the ſound of trumpet. See Hiſt. lib. ii. ſ. 29.

Section XXXI.

(a) Vologeſes king of Parthia, and Pacorus king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates. For Ecbatana, ſee the Geographical Table.

(b) None but perſons of high rank were admitted to embrace the governors of provinces. According to the ideas of that age, the honour was ſo high, that the Parthian king thought proper to make it a preliminary article.

Section XXXII.

(a) The capital of the Maritime Alps was called *Ebrodunum*, now *Embrun*. See an account of the territories of the Duke of Savoy. The rights and privileges of Latium have been already mentioned, Annals, xv. ſ. 32.

(b) The *Roſcian Law*, ſo called after L. Roſcius Otho, was eſta-

bliſhed A. U. C. 685. It aſſigned fourteen rows in the theatre to the Roman knights; but was ſilent as to the *Circus*, where the ſenators, the knights, and the commonalty were mixed in a promiſcuous concourſe. Afterwards in the conſulſhip of Cinna and Meſſala, A. U. C. 757, the ſenators and knights had a place aſſigned at the ſpectacle of the *Circus*, where they ſat apart from the *plebeians*, but without any diſtinction between their own two orders. Claudius allotted proper places for the ſenators. Suet. in Claud. ſ. 21. It remained for Nero to take care of the equeſtrian order. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 11.

(c) Suetonius ſays, Nero engaged four hundred ſenators, and ſix hundred Roman knights, ſome of them of fair fortune and character, to enter the liſts as gladiators, and encounter the wild beaſts. He alſo invited the veſtal virgins to ſee the wreſtlers, becauſe, as he ſaid, at Olympia the prieſteſſes of Ceres were allowed the privilege of ſeeing that diverſion. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 12. See Annals, xiv. ſ. 15; and notes *(a)* and *(b)*. See Juvenal, ſat. vi. ver. 245; ſat. viii. ver. 194.

Section XXXV.

(a) For Silanus Torquatus, ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 61.

Section XXXVII.

(a) Suetonius tells us, that Nero frequently ſupped in public, either in the Field of Mars, or the Circus, attended at table by the common harlots of the city, or from Syria. When he went down the Tiber to Oſtia, or coaſted along the bay of Baiæ, booths, with all conveniencies for drinking and debauchery, were ranged on the margin of the ſea, while ladies of pleaſure ſtood like ſirens, to invite the paſſengers from their ſhips. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 27.

(b) The lake of Agrippa was in the gardens adjoining to his houſe, near the Pantheon.

(c) This platform was conſtructed by a great number of timbers faſtened together, and left to float on the water. Lucan has deſcribed ſuch a platform with a tower on it. Pharſal. lib. iv. ver. 17.

(d) Dio has given an account of Nero's marriage with Pythagoras,

and alſo of his taking Sporus, the eunuch, to be his wife. See Appendix to book xvi. ſ. 8.

(*c*) Juvenal has deſcribed this ſcene of impious proſtitution:

——— Dum ſedet illa parato
Flammeolo, Tyriuſque palam genialis in hortis
Sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
Antiquo; veniet cum ſignatoribus auſpex.

SAT. x. ver. 333.

Adorn'd with bridal pomp ſhe ſits in ſtate,
The public notaries and aruſpex wait;
The genial bed is in the garden dreſt;
The portion paid, and every rite expreſt,
Which in a Roman marriage is profeſt.

DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) Suetonius relates the fire of Rome, and has no doubt of Nero's guilt. He tells us, that ſomebody repeating in converſation,

Ἐμοῦ θανοντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρὶ,
When I am dead let fire devour the world;

Let it be, ſaid Nero, *whilſt I am living*, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος. And accordingly, pretending to diſlike the old buildings, and the narrow winding of the ſtreets, he ſet fire to the city in ſo barefaced a manner, that ſeveral men of conſular rank met Nero's domeſtic ſervants with torches and combuſtibles, but did not dare to apprehend them. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 38. See Dio, lib. lxii.

(*b*) Livy obſerves, that, after the city was fired by the Gauls, it was rebuilt in cloſe, narrow, winding ſtreets. See Livy, lib. v. ſ. 55.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) The gardens of Mæcenas were near Mount Eſquiline.

(*b*) The monuments of Agrippa were, his houſe, his gardens, his baths, and the Pantheon. The laſt remains at this day.

(*c*) Nero's gardens joined to the Vatican.

(*d*) Suetonius ſays, in expreſs terms, that Nero beheld the conflagra-

tion from a tower on the top of Mæcenas's houſe, and, being highly pleaſed with ſo grand a ſight, went to his own theatre, and in his ſcenic dreſs tuned his harp, and ſung the deſtruction of Troy. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 38.

Section XLI.

(a) Evander was originally a native of Arcadia in Greece. The viſit of Hercules forms a beautiful epiſode in Virgil's Æneid, book viii.

(b) For the temple of Jupiter Stator, ſee Livy, lib. i. ſ. 12.

(c) The palace of Numa was on Mount Palatine, afterwards the manſion of Auguſtus, near the temple of VESTA, where the veſtal virgins watched the perpetual fire. See Horace, lib. i. ode 2.

(d) The fourteenth of the calends of July, or the eighteenth of June. This is confirmed by Livy, who ſays, lib. vi. ſ. 1, that the battle at *Allia* was fought on the fifteenth of the kalends; and book v. ſ. 41, he ſays the victorious Gauls entered Rome on the following day.

Section XLII.

(a) According to Suetonius, Nero turned the public calamity to his own private advantage. He promiſed to remove the bodies that lay amidſt the ruins, and to clear the ground at his own expence. By that artifice he ſecured all the remaining property of the unhappy ſufferers for his own uſe. To add to his ill-gotten ſtore, he levied contributions in the provinces, and by thoſe means collected an immenſe ſum. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 38. Brotier has given an elaborate deſcription of the New Palace, vol. ii. p. 490, 4to edit.

(b) The Lake Avernus was in the neighbourhood of Baiæ, now *Lago Averno.*

(c) Now *Paludi Pontine*, in the territory of Rome.

Section XLIII.

(a) Strabo ſays, that by an ordinance of Auguſtus, no new built houſe was to be more than ſeventy feet high. Trajan afterwards, according to Aurelius Victor, fixed the elevation at ſixty feet. The rule preſcribed by Nero cannot now be known.

(b) We

(*b*) We are told by Suetonius, that Nero introduced a new model for building in the city, and, by porticos and piazzas before the front, contrived, in caſe of fire, to hinder the flames from ſpreading. In Neron. ſ. 16.

(*c*) Vitruvius ſays, that the Alban and Gabian ſtone was not the hardeſt, but it reſiſted fire; while the ſtone from other quarries was apt, when heated, to crack, and fly off in fragments. Vitruvius, lib. ii. cap. 7.

(*d*) Brotier obſerves, that by a law of the Twelve Tables, a ſpace of ſomething more than two feet, was to be left between all new-built houſes.

(*e*) It is known, ſays Brotier, from the experience of medical people, that at Rome there are more patients, during the ſummer, in the wide parts of the city, which lie open to the ſun, than in the narrow places, where the inhabitants are ſhaded from the intenſe heat.

Section XLIV.

(*a*) The beds, on which the gods and goddeſſes were extended at all public feſtivals, were called *Lectiſternia*. See Livy, lib. v. ſ. 13.

(*b*) Brotier obſerves, that the Jews, in that period of time, were guilty of great enormities; and the diſtinction between them and the Chriſtians not being underſtood, all were conſidered in the ſame light, deſpiſed and hated by the Romans.

(*c*) This was the firſt perſecution of the Chriſtians. Nero, the declared enemy of human kind, waged war againſt a religion, which has ſince diffuſed the light of truth, and humaniſed the ſavages of Europe. It is true, as Suetonius relates, that Claudius baniſhed the Jews, who were raiſing ſeditious tumults, at the inſtigation of one CHRESTUS. That name, it is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, cannot, at leaſt ought not to be confounded with JESUS CHRIST; who, it was well known at Rome, had ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius. CHRESTUS, Brotier obſerves, was not an uncommon name among the Greeks and Romans. When the Jews were ordered by Claudius to depart from Rome, all of that nation, who profeſſed themſelves followers of CHRIST, were, without diſtinction, included in the number. The

edict of the emperor was not pointed againſt the Chriſtians. Nero appears to be the firſt that attacked them as the profeſſors of a new religion; and when ſuch a man as Tacitus calls it a dangerous ſuperſtition, *exitiabilis ſuperſtitio*, it muſt be allowed, that, indirectly, an apology is made for Nero. But for Tacitus, who had opportunities for a fair enquiry, and ability to know and decide, what excuſe can be offered? The vices of the Jews were imputed to the Chriſtians without diſcrimination, and Tacitus ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away by the torrent of popular prejudice. And yet we find that his friend Pliny, during his adminiſtration in the province of Bithynia, thought and acted with moderation. The Chriſtians were under a proſecution; Pliny, in his character of proconſular governor, was in doubt how to proceed. He wrote to the emperor Trajan on the ſubject; and after ſtating that the *real Chriſtians were not to be forced, by any means whatever, to renounce the articles of their belief*, he proceeds to the ſum total of their guilt, which he found to be as follows: They met on a ſtated day before it was light, and addreſſed themſelves in a prayer or hymn to CHRIST, as to a God, binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath, not for any wicked purpoſe, but never to commit any *fraud*, *theft*, or *adultery*; never to *falſify their word*, nor *deny a truſt repoſed in them*; after which, it was their cuſtom to ſeparate, and then re-aſſemble to eat their meal together, in a manner perfectly harmleſs and inoffenſive. They deſiſted, ſays Pliny, from this cuſtom, after my edict, iſſued according to your order, againſt the holding of any aſſemblies whatever. *Affirmabant hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem; ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod, obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent; ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen, et innoxium; quod ipſum facere deſiiſſe poſt edictum meum, quo ſecundum mandata tua hetærias eſſe vetueram.* Plin. lib. x. ep. 97. Such is the account of the religion, which Tacitus calls a *pernicious* ſuperſtition. Pliny adds, in the ſame letter, that, in order to come at the real truth, he ordered two female ſlaves to be put to the torture, but he could diſcover nothing more than a rooted and exceſſive ſuperſtition. Trajan,

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in his anſwer to this letter, determines, that if Chriſtians are brought before the governor, and proved to be guilty, they muſt be puniſhed, unleſs they renounce their errors, and invoke the gods of Rome. In that caſe they were to be pardoned, notwithſtanding any former ſuſpicion. But the emperor ſays to his miniſter, "I would not have you officiouſly enter into any inquiries concerning them." Pliny's letter, Mr. Melmoth obſerves, is eſteemed as almoſt the only genuine monument of eccleſiaſtical antiquity, relating to the times immediately ſucceeding the apoſtles, being wrote not above forty years after the death of Paul. It was preſerved by the Chriſtians themſelves, as a clear and unſuſpicious evidence of the purity of their doctrines. It is therefore with good reaſon, ſays Brotier, that Tertullian, in a ſtrain of exultation, declares, That the Chriſtians, "for their innocence, their probity, juſtice, truth, and for the living God, were burnt alive. The cruelty, ye proſecutors! is all your own; the glory is ours." *Pro tantâ innocentiâ, pro tantâ probitate, pro juſtitiâ, pro virtute, pro Deo vivo cremamur: Crudelitas veſtra; gloria eſt noſtra.*

(*d*) The Jews, as will be ſeen in the Hiſtory, book v. ſ. 5, were charged with harbouring a ſullen averſion towards all mankind. It is unneceſſary to vindicate the Chriſtian religion from that imputation.

(*e*) Juvenal alludes, with his uſual indignation, to the barbarous cruelties deſcribed by Tacitus. See ſat. i. ver. 155.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) For Prænesſte, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Spartacus, a gladiator, kindled up the Servile War A. U. C. 681.

(*c*) For Formiæ, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) For Placentia, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section L.

(*a*) Fenius Rufus has been mentioned to his honour, Annals, xiv. ſ. 51.

(*b*) Agrippina, Nero's murdered mother.

Section LII.

(*a*) Lucius Silanus, the ſon of Marcus Junius Silanus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 59.

(*b*) Caius Caſſius, baniſhed to Sardinia A. U. C. 818. See Annals, book xii. f. 11 and 12.

Section LVI.

(*a*) The weakneſs here imputed to Lucan, cannot be read by any man who has a reſpect for genius, and the true dignity of the human character, without emotions of pity and regret. But, perhaps, without any ſtudied comment, the caſe admits a plain and obvious apology. Two eminent men (Natalis and Scevinus) had been taken into cuſtody. At *the ſight of the rack their reſolution failed*, and they diſcovered their accomplices. Lucan knew that the ſame engine of cruelty was ready for himſelf and his two friends, Quinctianus and Senecio. All three were tempted by a promiſe of pardon, and they endeavoured to earn it by making diſcoveries. Lucan might think that his mother, a woman who boaſted neither rank nor fortune, would not, among a great number of daring conſpirators, be deemed an object worthy of notice; and, beſides, the terrors of the rack may conquer the moſt heroic mind. When the executioner appears with his torturing engines, it is no longer the moment of courage. He who in the ranks of war is ready to face every danger, may ſhrink from the pangs prepared for him in a dungeon, where he muſt ſuffer under a villain's hand, unſeen, unpitied, unapplauded. When Felton, who ſtabbed the duke of Buckingham at Portſmouth, was examined before the privy council, the Biſhop of London ſaid to him, *If you will not confeſs, you muſt go to the rack.* The man replied, If it muſt be ſo, I know not whom I may accuſe; perhaps ſome Lord at this board. Sound ſenſe, ſays Judge Foſter, in the mouth of an enthuſiaſt and a ruffian! In the ſame diſtreſs, the ſame hurry and perturbation of ſpirit, Lucan mentioned his mother. He might think that ſhe was not of conſequence to provoke reſentment; and the event ſhewed, if he thought ſo, that his concluſion was right. Nero affected to forget her. She and Seneca's wife were ſuffered to live. For theſe reaſons, the conduct of Lucan may admit of ſome extenuation; more eſpecially, when he had

had before his eyes the example of ſenators, and men of conſular rank. But a late writer thinks he has diſcovered a better ground of defence. He denies the fact, and ſays, Tacitus has *adopted a groſs calumny*, invented by Nero to *vilify the object of his envious abhorrence*. But it may be aſked, if Nero framed the ſtory, is it probable that a writer, who wages an inceſſant war againſt evil men and evil deeds, would have deſcended to be the accomplice of a tyrant? Tacitus, through the whole of his narrative, has done ample juſtice to all who died with glory; to Epicharis, the enfranchiſed ſlave, who diſplayed her conſtancy, in defiance of the keeneſt torture; to Seneca, who left an example of unſhaken virtue; to Subrius Flavius, whoſe laſt words to Nero were, "I hated you when you became a coachman, a comedian, and an incendiary;" to Sulpicius Aſper, the centurion; and, above all, to Lucan himſelf, who died with undaunted courage, repeating a paſſage from his own poem. Let it alſo be remembered, that when Lucan's father ſuffered death in the following year, Tacitus ſays, that the ſon reflected the higheſt honour on the father; *grande adjumentum claritudinis*. The writer who has treated Lucan with ſo much candour, would neither adopt nor invent a calumny, to brand his name in the page of hiſtory. But to conclude this long note: It is by no means probable, that Tacitus, who wrote in the reign of Trajan, not much more than thirty years after the death of Lucan, would hazard a glaring falſehood in the face of his contemporaries; and it is leſs probable, that Mr. Hayley, at the diſtance of more than 1730 years, ſhould be better informed than the great hiſtorian, who lived at the very time of the tranſaction. See Poems, by William Hayley, Eſq. vol. iii. p. 206.

Section LX.

(*a*) This was Seneca's villa, called *Nomentanum*, which he mentions, epiſt. cx. and alſo civ. *in Nomentanum meum fugi*.

Section LXIII.

(*a*) For his diet, ſee in this book, ſ. 45.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) This poiſon was called *cicuta*. Seneca ſays, it made Socrates a great man: *Cicuta magnum Socratem fecit*. Epiſt. xiii.

Section LXVIII.

(*a*) Statilia Meſſalina had been Nero's third wife. See the Genealogical Table, No. 39.

Section LXX.

(*a*) The commentators point out different paſſages in the Pharſalia, but all depend on mere conjecture. Lipſius thinks the deſcription of Lycidas, at the point of death, moſt probable.

Ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inſerit uncos,
Affixit Lycidam: merſus foret ille profundo,
Sed prohibent ſocii, ſuſpenſaque crura retentant.
Scinditur avulſus; nec ſicut vulnere, ſanguis
Emicuit lentus: ruptis cadit undique venis,
Diſcurſuſque animæ diverſa in membra meantis
Interceptus aquis; nullius vita perempti
Eſt tantâ dimiſſa viâ; pars ultima trunci
Tradidit in Letum vacuos vitalibus artus;
Aut tumidus quà pulmo jacet, quâ viſcera fervent,
Hæſerunt ibi fata diu, luctataque multùm
Hac cum parte viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.

PHARSAL. lib. iii. ver. 635.

Other critics contend for the following lines:

Sanguis erant lacrymæ; quæcumque foramina novit
Humor, ab his largus manat cruor; ora redundant,
Et patulæ nares; ſudor rubet: omnia plenis
Membra fluunt venis: totum eſt pro vulnere corpus.

PHARSAL. ix. ver. 811.

Section

Section LXXI.

(*a*) Laurel is called by Pliny the elder, the door-keeper of the Cæſars: *Janitrix Cæſarum.* Lib. xv. ſ. 30.

(*b*) Virginius was a rhetorician, and the preceptor of Perſeus, the ſatiriſt; as may be ſeen in the Life of Perſeus.

(*c*) Muſonius Rufus was a teacher of philoſophy. See Annals, xiv. ſ. 59.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) Petronius Turpilianus was conſul, as mentioned, book xiv. ſ. 29.

(*b*) Cocceius Nerva, afterwards emperor.

(*c*) For Nymphidius, ſee Appendix to Annals, xvi. ſ. 13; and ſee the Hiſtory, book i. ſ. 5.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) Seneca, the philoſopher, had two brothers; namely, Annæus Mela, the father of Lucan, and Annæus Novatus, who was afterwards adopted by Gallio, and took that name. For the death of Mela, ſee Annals, xvi. ſ. 17.

Section LXXIV.

(*a*) The month of April was called Neronius, May Claudius, and June Germanicus. Annals, xvi. ſ. 12.

(*b*) For an account of Vindex, ſee the Appendix to Annals, xvi. p. 374.

(*c*) Auguſtus was deified by the poets, and in the provinces; but no altars were erected to him at Rome during his life.

NOTES

ON THE

SIXTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) THE account of Dido's flight from Tyre with the treaſures of her huſband Sichæus, to avoid the fury of Pygmalion, who had baſely murdered his brother for the ſake of his riches, is finely given by Virgil. Æneid i. ver. 347.

(*b*) The kings of Numidia, and the African princes in the neighbourhood of Carthage, were enemies to the infant ſtate founded by Dido.

> Hinc Getulæ urbes, genus inſuperabile bello,
> Et Numidæ infræni cingunt.
>
> VIRGIL, lib. iv. ver. 40.

Section II.

(*a*) The Quinquennial feſtival was eſtabliſhed by Nero, A. U. C. 813. Annals, xiv. ſ. 20.

Section III.

(*a*) Suetonius relates the whole of this impoſtor's deception, and the chimerical projects of Nero in conſequence of it. In Neron. ſ. 31.

Section IX.

(*a*) Nero did not ſcruple to appear upon the ſtage amongſt other performers,

performers, even in the ſpectacles preſented by the magiſtrates. He ſung tragedies maſked, the vizors of the gods and goddeſſes being formed into a reſemblance of his own face. Among the reſt, he acted *Canace in Labour*, *Oreſtes the Murderer of his Mother*, *Œdipus blinded*, and *Hercules mad*. In the laſt tragedy a ſoldier, at his poſt in the theatre, ſeeing the emperor bound with chains as the play required, ran to his aſſiſtance. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 21. See alſo the ſame, ſ. 22, 23 and 24. This ridiculous diſplay of talents, beneath the dignity of a prince, is well deſcribed by Racine in his play of Britannicus:

Pour toute ambition, pour vertu ſinguliere,
Il excelle à conduire un char dans la carriere;
A diſputer des prix indignes de ſes mains,
A ſe donner lui-même en ſpectacle aux Romains;
A venir prodiguer ſa voix ſur un théâtre,
A reciter des chants qu'il veut qu'on idolatre.

Act iv. ſcene 4.

Racine's play was performed before Lewis XIV, who had before that time mixed in the dance on the public ſtage. The picture of Nero's folly made the monarch ſee himſelf, and from that time he reſolved never to degrade the royal character.

Section V.

(*a*) See Suetonius in Neron. ſ. 23.

Section VI.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, he married Poppæa twelve days after his divorce from Octavia, and, notwithſtanding the vehemence of his love, killed her with a kick when ſhe was big with child, only becauſe ſhe took the liberty to chide him for returning late from the chariot-race. He had by her a daughter, called Claudia Auguſta, who died in her infancy. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 35.

(*b*) The firſt Romans did not burn their dead, but interred them, according to the cuſtom of other nations. Pliny the elder ſays, that the practice of committing the dead to the funeral pile, was not intro-

duced till it was known that the bodies of ſoldiers, who died in foreign wars, were dug up by the enemy, and expoſed to public view. And yet Plutarch, in his Life of Numa, obſerves that Numa was buried, purſuant to his own expreſs injunction, directing that his body ſhould not be committed to the flames; which ſhews that burning was known at Rome in that early period. The cuſtom of burning the dead was held in abhorrence by ſeveral nations, and, according to Herodotus, by the Perſians as well as the Ægyptians. Notwithſtanding what Plutarch has ſaid, Pliny aſſures us, that before Sylla the dictator, the bodies of the deceaſed were always interred by the Romans, and that the reaſon for burning that extraordinary man, was becauſe, having dug up the body of Marius, he was afraid of being treated the ſame way himſelf, and therefore ordered his remains to be conſumed to aſhes. Pliny, lib. vii. ſ. 54. The cuſtom of burning at Rome ceaſed under the Antonines.

(c) Beſides the ſpices with which the body of Poppæa was embalmed, a prodigious quantity was burnt on the occaſion, inſomuch that Pliny ſays, all Arabia did not produce in an entire year as much as was conſumed at the funeral of Poppæa. *Periti rerum aſſeverant* ARABIAM *non ferre tantum* THURIS ET MYRRHÆ *annuo fœtu, quantum Nero princeps noviſſimo Poppææ ſuæ die concremaverit.* Pliny, lib. xii ſ. 18.

(d) For the apotheoſis of Nero's daughter by Poppæa, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 23.

Section VII.

(a) The name of this perſon was Caſſius Longinus, a lawyer far advanced in years, and blind. His crime, according to Suetonius, was, that among the buſts of his anceſtors, he kept that of the famous Caſſius, who ſtabbed Julius Cæſar. Suet. in Neron. ſ. 37.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Lucius Silanus was ſon to Marcus Junius Silanus, who was great-grandſon to Auguſtus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 59. For his uncle Silanus Torquatus, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 35.

(*b*) For

(*b*) For Lepida, ſee the Genealogical Table, No. 64.

(*c*) Marcellus Cornelius was afterwards put to death by Galba. Hiſt. lib. i. ſ. 37.

Section IX.

(*a*) Barium, a city in Apulia, now *Bari*.

Section X.

(*a*) For the death of Rubellius Plautus, ſee Annals, xiv. ſ. 58 and 59.

(*b*) Nero and Antiſtius Vetus were joint conſuls, A. U. C. 808. See Annals, xiii. ſ. 11.

Section XII.

(*a*) For Fenius Rufus, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 66 and 68.

(*b*) See Annals, xv. ſ. 74.

(*c*) The two Torquati were, Silanus Torquatus, Annals, xv. ſ. 35; and Lucius Torquatus, this book, ſ. 9.

Section XIII.

(*a*) This was a dreadful fire, by which in one night Lugdunum (now the city of Lyons) was reduced to aſhes. Seneca ſays, *Una nox fuit inter urbem maximam et nullam.* See his Reflections on this Miſfortune, epiſt. 91.

(*b*) The time when the people of Lyons granted a ſupply to the Romans cannot be aſcertained. It was probably in the reign of Caligula.

Section XIV.

(*a*) Antiſtius Soſianus was baniſhed on account of his ſatirical verſes, A. U. 815. Annals, xiv. ſ. 48, 49.

(*b*) For Oſtorius Scapula, ſee Annals, xii. ſ. 31; Annals, xiv. ſ. 48. He had commanded in Britain with great reputation.

(*c*) To give validity to a will, ſeven witneſſes were neceſſary. Digeſt. lib. xxxvii. tit. De Bonorum Poſſeſſione.

Section XV.

(*a*) Annals, xii. ſ. 31.

Section

Section XVII.

(*a*) Criſpinus commanded the prætorians, Annals, xi. ſ. 1. He was baniſhed to Sardinia, Annals, xv. ſ. 71.

(*b*) For Gallio, the brother of Seneca, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 73.

(*c*) Brotier exclaims in this place, Let the detractors from the merit of Lucan hear what Tacitus ſays of him, and let them bluſh for their malignity. That a young poet, who ended his career in the 27th year of his age, ſhould aim in many paſſages of his work at ambitious ornaments, and the falſe glitter which the example of his uncle Seneca and the taſte of the age encouraged, cannot be matter of wonder; but, to atone for his faults, his poem is a treaſure of ſentiments worthy of a Roman. Lucan taught Corneille to think, and to expreſs his thoughts with force and dignity.

(*d*) Juvenal gives us to underſtand that Lucan was poſſeſſed of great riches, and might therefore ſeek no reward but fame:

> Contentus famâ jaceat Lucanus in hortis
> Marmoreis. SAT. vii. ver. 79.

(*e*) The plot to which Tacitus refers, is not related with perſpicuity by any hiſtorian. All that is now known is, that Cerealis was the informer, and that Sextus Paſſienus, the chief of the conſpiracy, with ſeveral men of rank, was put to death by order of Caligula.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) This is the writer whom Pope has celebrated in the Eſſay on Criticiſm:

> Fancy and art in gay Petronius pleaſe,
> The ſcholar's learning, with the courtier's eaſe.

The account here given of him by Tacitus, is elegant and intereſting. See Plutarch, on the difference between a friend and a ſycophant; and ſee Pliny, lib. xxxvii. ſ. 7.

(*b*) This was Scevinus the conſpirator, for whom ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 49, 54, and 56.

Section XIX.

(*a*) This deſcription of Nero and his flagitious court has been ſuppoſed by ſome critics to be the work called *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon*; but this, it is evident, muſt be a groſs miſtake. The *Satyricon* is a long work, and muſt have been written at leiſure. It contains nothing that relates to the new modes of vice, or the ſecret practices of Nero's court. It glances often at the imbecility of Claudius, and preſents a variety of miſcellaneous matter, palpably the compoſition of a mind at eaſe. What was ſent to Nero muſt have been a ſhort performance, ſuch as a man of genius might diſpatch in a few hours. How ſhould the paſſages, which have entitled Petronius to be ranked with the critics of antiquity, find a place in the narrative of a dying man?

Section XXI.

(*a*) When the death of Agrippina, Nero's mother, was announced to the ſenate, and the fathers, with their uſual ſpirit of adulation, were preparing their decrees on that occaſion, Thraſea roſe from his ſeat and left the houſe. Annals, xiv. ſ. 12.

(*b*) See Annals, xiv. ſ. 48.

(*c*) For Coſſutianus Capito, a man of infamous character, ſee Annals, xiii. ſ. 33.

Section XXII.

(*a*) The oath of fidelity was changed at different times. At firſt it was a ſolemn obligation to preſerve the laws. Dio relates, that on the kalends of January, A. U. C. 712, the magiſtrates ſwore on the Acts of Julius Cæſar. In proceſs of time, to ſwear on the Acts of the Emperors grew into uſe; though we have ſeen Tiberius refuſing to admit that form of oath.

(*b*) Thraſea was forbid the preſence of the emperor, A. U. C. 816. See book xv. ſ. 23. From that time, it does not appear that he entered the ſenate.

(*c*) The Journals of the Roman people, called in the original *Diurna Populi Romani*. Theſe were the Roman newſpapers. It is to be regretted that no collection of thoſe fugitive pieces has come down

to

to us. We ſhould have the pleaſure of ſeeing minutely and diſtinctly *the private life of the Romans*, and the opportunity would be fair to make a compariſon between a Roman journaliſt and the *doer* of a modern newſpaper.

(d) Cicero, in the Oration for Muræna, gives a ſketch of Tubero's character: "He was a man of illuſtrious birth, a ſcholar, and a profeſſor of the ſtoic philoſophy. Being deſired, at the funeral of Scipio Africanus, to lay out the couches for the farewel ſupper, he choſe the vileſt ſort, ſuch as were uſed at Carthage, and, having covered them with goat ſkins, arranged in proper order a number of Samian vaſes, which were earthen ware; as if he were preparing for the funeral of Diogenes the cynic, and not for that of the divine Africanus, to whoſe honour Quintus Maximus, in a panegyric from the roſtrum, ſaid, he thanked the immortal Gods that ſuch a man was born a Roman citizen; for wherever Scipio lived, there by conſequence would be fixed the empire of the world." Cicero adds, that Tubero, a good and upright citizen, the grandſon of Paulus Æmilius, and nephew to the deceaſed Scipio, gave umbrage to the people by his perverſe wiſdom, and for his goat ſkins loſt his election when candidate for the prætorſhip. *Atque ille, homo eruditiſſimus, ac ſtoicus, ſtravit pelliculis hædinis lectulos punicanos, et expoſuit vaſa Samia; quaſi vero eſſet Diogenes cynicus mortuus, et non divini hominis Africani mors honeſtaretur; quem cum ſupremo ejus die Quintus Maximus laudaret, gratias egit Diis immortalibus, quod ille vir in hac republicâ potiſſimum natus eſſet: neceſſe enim fuiſſe, ibi eſſe terrarum imperium, ubi ille eſſet. Hujus in morte celebrandâ graviter tulit populus Romanus hanc* PERVERSAM SAPIENTIAM *Tuberonis; itaque homo integerrimus, civis optimus, cum eſſet Lucii Pauli nepos, Africani ſororis filius, his* HÆDINIS PELLICULIS *prætură dejectus eſt.* Tully pro Muræná, vol. ii. p. 266, Delph. edit. Seneca, who was a profeſſed ſtoic, ſays of that ſchool, that there was no ſect more benevolent, none more affectionate, and none more zealous to promote the good of ſociety. *Nulla ſecta benignior, leniorque eſt; nulla amantior hominum, et communibus bonis attentior.* De Clementiâ, lib. ii. cap. 5. But the ſame Seneca teaches the impious doctrine of ſuicide. *In eum intravimus mundum,*

mundum, in quo his legibus vivitur: Placet? Pare. Non placet? Quacumque vis, exi. Epiſt. 91.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Acratus has been mentioned as a perſon ſent into Aſia, to plunder the cities of their ſtatues. Annals, xv. ſ. 45.

(*b*) Rubellius Plautus, for whom ſee Annals, xiv. ſ. 57 and 59.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Nero was on his return from Campania.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) Arulenus Ruſticus lived to eſtabliſh a great and virtuous character. He was put to death by Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. See Life of Agricola, ſ. xi; and note (*a*).

Section XXVII.

(*a*) The emperors had their own ſpecial quæſtors for the conduct of their affairs. Auguſtus was the firſt that eſtabliſhed ſuch an office. Suetonius ſays, he acquainted the ſenate with the ſcandalous behaviour of his daughter Julia by a narrative in writing, which was read to the fathers by the quæſtor. Suet. in Aug. ſ. 65.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) For more of Helvidius Priſcus, ſee Hiſtory, book iv. ſ. 5; and ſee Life of Agricola, ſ. ii. and note (*b*).

(*b*) Marcus Paconius, the father of Paconius Agrippinus, was cruelly put to death by Tiberius. See Suet. in Tib. ſ. 61.

(*c*) For more of Curtius Montanus, ſee Hiſtory, iv. ſ. 40 and 42.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) It is ſuppoſed by ſome of the commentators, that the Montanus mentioned in this place is the perſon introduced by Juvenal in the deep conſultation held by Domitian, about the manner of dreſſing a fiſh of enormous ſize:

Quidnam igitur cenſes? conciditur? abſit ab illo
Dedecus hoc, Montanus ait, &c.

SAT. iv. ver. 130.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) Egnatius, the profeſſor of the ſtoic philoſophy, who appears as a witneſs againſt Bareas Soranus, is mentioned by Juvenal:

Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum,
Diſcipulumque ſenex. SAT. iii. ver. 116.

See the Hiſtory, book iv. ſ. 10.

Section XXXIV.

(a) Notice has been taken, ſ. xxvii. note (*a*), of the imperial quæſtors. The conſuls alſo had their quæſtors, as we read in Dio, lib. xlviii. where it is ſaid that Appius Claudius and Caius Norbanus, conſuls A. U. C. 716, had each of them two quæſtors under their own immediate direction.

(b) Demetrius is praiſed by Seneca, not merely as a philoſopher, but as a man of conſummate virtue. De Beneficiis, lib. vii. cap. 8. In another place he calls him emphatically, not the teacher, but the witneſs of truth. *Non præceptor veri, ſed teſtis.* Epiſt. xx.

(*c*) Arria, his wife, was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, who, in the reign of Claudius, A. U. C. 795, plunged a dagger in her own breaſt, to give her huſband Cæcina Pætus an example of undaunted courage. See the Life of Agricola, ſ. ii. notes (*a*) and *(b)*.

END OF THE NOTES
ON THE
SIX LAST BOOKS OF THE ANNALS.

NOTES

ON THE

APPENDIX

TO THE

SIXTEENTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(*a*) EPICTETUS, as we are told by Arrian, recorded the Apothegms of Thraſea, and in particular the ſentiment here aſcribed to him.

(*b*) Pliny the conſul obſerves; that many, who are themſelves ſlaves to every vice, are, notwithſtanding, malicious declaimers againſt the errors of others; yet, ſurely, a lenity of diſpoſition is of all other virtues the moſt becoming. The rule which ought to be moſt religiouſly obſerved, is, Let us be inexorable to our own failings, while we treat thoſe of the reſt of the world with tenderneſs, not excepting even ſuch as forgive none but themſelves, remembering always what the humane, and, therefore, the great Thraſea uſed to ſay: "He who hates vice, hates mankind." *Noſtine hos, qui omnium libidinum ſervi, ſic aliorum vitiis iraſcuntur, quaſi invideant, et graviſſimè puniunt, quos maximè imitantur? Cum eos etiam, qui non indigent clementiâ ullius, nihil magis quam lenitas deceat. Atque ego optimum et emendatiſſimum exiſtimo, qui cæteris ita ignoſcit, tanquam ipſe quotidie peccet; ita peccatis abſtinet, tanquam nemini*

ignoſcat. Proinde hoc dŏmi, hoc foris, hoc in omni vitæ genere teneamus, ut nobis implacabiles ſimus, exorabiles iſtis etiam, qui dare veniam niſi ſibi neſciunt; mandemuſque memoriæ, quod vir mitiſſimus, et ob hoc quoque maximus, Thraſea dicere crebro ſolebat: QUI VITIA ODIT, HOMINES ODIT. Plin. lib. viii. epiſt. 22. Mr. Melmoth, the elegant tranſlator of Pliny, ſays, The meaning of this maxim ſeems to be, that as it is difficult to ſeparate the action from the man, we ſhould not ſuffer the errors of the world to raiſe in us that acrimony of indignation, which, if well examined, will, perhaps, be oftener found to proceed from ſome ſecret principle of malice, than a juſt abhorrence of vice. And, therefore, as Seneca obſerves, *Satius eſt publicos mores et humana vitia placidè accipere.* See Melmoth's Pliny, book viii. epiſt. 22.

(*c*) Helvidius Priſcus was recalled from exile, and afterwards put to death in the reign of Veſpaſian. See Appendix to book v. of the Hiſtory; and ſee Life of Agricola, ſ. ii. and note (*b*).

(*d*) Paconius Agrippinus has been mentioned, Annals, xvi. ſ. 28.

(*e*) Theſe particulars are related by Arrian, in Epicteto, 1.

(*f*) Arrian has recorded this fact. Seneca has mentioned Demetrius with the higheſt applauſe, and chiefly for the following ſentiment: Nothing can be more unfortunate than the man who has never felt the ſtroke of adverſity: he has had no experience of himſelf. *Nihil mihi videtur infelicius eo, cui nihil unquam evenit adverſi: non licuit enim illi ſe experire.* Seneca de Providentiâ, cap. iii.

Section II.

(*a*) Cornutus was the friend and preceptor of Perſeus the poet.

——Teneros tu ſuſcipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, ſinu.

SAT. v. ver. 36.

Crevier, in the Lives of the Emperors, tells us, that Nero intended to write the Roman Hiſtory in verſe, and in four hundred books. That will be too many, ſaid Cornutus; nobody will read them. In anſwer, he was told, that Chryſippus had written a great many more. Yes, replied Cornutus, but the difference between the authors is very great.

He

He eſcaped with his life, but was baniſhed. Crevier's Roman Emperors, vol. iv. p. 295.

(*b*) See Annals, xv. f. 29 and 30.

(*c*) Vologeſes, king of Parthia, and Pacorus, king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates. Monobazus was king of the Adiabenians.

(*d*) See Annals, xv. f. 31.

(*e*) See the Geographical Table.

(*f*) For Patrobius, ſee Pliny, lib. xxxv. f. 13.

(*g*) The ſkill in archery, which Tiridates diſplayed on the occaſion, is related by Dio.

Section III.

(*a*) The appearance of Tiridates before the Roman people, and the prodigious magnificence of that public ſpectacle, are deſcribed by Suetonius, in Nero, f. 13.

(*b*) Suetonius, f. 13. See alſo Dio, lib. lxiii.

Section IV.

(*a*) The Sun, under the name of MITHRA, was worſhipped by the Perſians, and almoſt all the eaſtern nations. See Hyde, Hiſtory of the Perſian Religion.

(*b*) The ſpeech of Tiridates, and Nero's anſwer, are recorded by Dio Caſſius, lib. lxiii.

(*c*) Pliny mentions the decorations of the Theatre, and the vaſt diſplay of gold for the reception of Tiridates. *Nero Pompeii Theatrum operuit auro in unum diem, quod Tiridati regi Armeniæ oſtenderet.* Lib. xxxiii. f. 3. See alſo Dio Caſſius, lib. lxiii.

(*d*) Dio ſays, this feaſt was given in Nero's golden palace; for which, ſee Pliny, lib. xxxiii. f. 3.

(*e*) Rome, under the emperors, was often diſturbed by the violent ſpirit of theatrical factions, the leaders of which were diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their dreſs, ſuch as *white*, *blue*, *green*, and *yellow*. This is what Tacitus, in another place, has called HISTRIONALIS FAVOR. Monteſquieu has conſidered it as one of the cauſes of the declenſion of the Roman empire. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xxix. note (*c*).

(*f*) Dio relates this remark made by Tiridates.

(*g*) Pliny the elder has given an account of Nero's paſſion for the occult ſciences, lib. xxx. ſ. 2.

Section V.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, Nero ſpent in treating Tiridates with unparalleled magnificence, eight hundred thouſand ſeſterces a day; a ſum almoſt incredible! and at his departure preſented him with above a million. Sueton. in Nero, ſ. 30.

(*b*) The deſtruction of Artaxata has been mentioned, Annals, xiii. ſ. 41.

(*c*) The ſuperſtitious veneration with which the Parthians conſidered the Sea, has been already mentioned. Pliny ſays, *Tiridates navigare voluerat, quoniam exſpuere in maria, aliiſque mortalium neceſſitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant.* Lib. xxx. ſ. 2.

(*d*) See the Geographical Table.

(*e*) For Dyrrachium, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section VI.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, Nero, having placed his laurel crown in the capitol, and being complimented with the title of Imperator, cloſed the temple of Janus. In Nero, ſ. 13.

(*b*) Suetonius mentions his intended expedition to the Caſpian Sea, ſ. 19.

(*c*) Theſe levies of men, ſix feet high, to be called the Alexandrian phalanx, are ſtated by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 19.

(*d*) See Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 22.

(*e*) Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 30.

(*f*) Suetonius, in the place laſt cited.

Section VII.

(*a*) Helius, the freedman, is mentioned by Dio Caſſius in the character of prime miniſter during Nero's abſence from Rome. Corneille has deſcribed a ſlave riſing to preferment, with the ſententious brevity of Tacitus:

Jamais

Jamais un affranchi n'eſt qu'un eſclave infame;
Bien qu'il change d'état, il ne change point d'ame.

CINNA, act iv. ſcene 6.

(*b*) See the Geographical Table.

(*c*) The city of Caſſiope, and the temple of Jupiter Caſſius, are both mentioned by Pliny, lib. iv. ſ. 12.

(*d*) See Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 23.

(*e*) The deſtruction of the ſtatues erected to the various conquerors in the public games of Greece, is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 24.

(*f*) See Annals, book xvi. ſ. 5.

(*g*) Dio Caſſius tells us, that when Nero performed the part of *Canace*, one of the ſpectators aſked, What is he doing now? A man anſwered, *He is in labour*. For a liſt of the characters acted by Nero, ſee Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 21.

(*h*) See Crevier's Roman Emperors, Life of Nero, vol. iv. p. 304.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Suetonius ſays, Nero, after the murder of his mother, was not able to bear the reproaches of his own conſcience, though he had received the congratulatory addreſſes of the army, the ſenate, and the people; he frequently confeſſed that he was haunted by his mother's ghoſt following him with the whips and burning torches of the furies. *Exagitari ſe maternâ ſpecie, verberibus furiarum ac tædis ardentibus.* In Nero, ſ. 34.

(*b*) When Nero made the tour of Greece, he did not dare to attend the Eleuſinian myſteries, having heard the cryer warning all impious and nefarious villains not to approach the place. Sueton. in Nero, ſ. 34.

(*c*) Suetonius ſays, he attempted to call up his mother's ghoſt, in order to appeaſe and mollify her wrath. In Nero, ſ. 34.

(*d*) See this related by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 40.

(*e*) The territory of Cirrha was for many years annexed to the temple of Delphi: hence Lucan ſays in his addreſs to Nero:

Sed

Sed mihi jam numen; nec ſi te pectore vates
Accipiam, Cirrhæa velim ſecreta moventem
Sollicitare Deum.

PHARSAL. lib. i. ver. 63.

(*f*) He became the wife of Pythagoras. Annals, xv. f. 37.

(*g*) Chryſoſtomus ſays, Oration xxi, Nero offered a great reward to the perſon, who ſhould change Sporus into a woman; and there were not wanting empyrics, who promiſed to accompliſh that metamorphoſis.

(*h*) For more of her, ſee Hiſtory, i. f. 73; and ſee Dio, lib. lxiii.

Section IX.

(*a*) See Crevier, Life of Nero.

(*b*) For Sulpicius Camerinus, ſee Annals, xiii. f. 52; and ſee Crevier, vol. iv. p. 510.

(*c*) Nero's diſlike of every great man at Rome, joined to his rapacity, induced him, by means of his ſatellites, to kill, or force them to diſpatch themſelves, the richeſt and moſt illuſtrious of thoſe, who till then had eſcaped his cruelty. Crevier, vol. iv. p. 311.

Section X.

(*a*) For this attempt to penetrate the *Iſthmus* of Corinth, ſee Suetonius, in Nero, f. 19; and Dio, lib. lxiii.

(*b*) Pliny relates this fact: *Perfodere alveo navigabili anguſtias eas tentavere Demetrius rex, dictator Cæſar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero, in fauſto (ut omnium patuit exitu) incepto.*

(*c*) For Aſcalon, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*d*) See the Geographical Table.

(*e*) For Japha, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*f*) See the Geographical Table.

(*g*) For Gamala, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*h*) For the city of Jotapata, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*i*) The works of Joſephus are well known. They contain a mixture of good ſenſe and credulity, of truth and fable.

(*l*) For

(*l*) For the city of Tarichæa, ſee Suetonius, in Tito, ſ. 4; and ſee the Geographical Table.

(*m*) Joſephus ſays, Veſpaſian ſupplied Nero with ſix thouſand Jews, all ſtrong young men, choſen out of a vaſt number of priſoners.

Section XI.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 23.

(*b*) For the fate of Corbulo, ſee Dio, lib. lxiii.

(*e*) The tame ſubmiſſion with which ſo many brave and eminent men received orders to die, fills the mind with aſtoniſhment and indignation.

(*f*) For Pactius Africanus, ſee Hiſt. iv. ſ. 41.

(*g*) For the fate of Craſſus, ſee Crevier, vol. iv. p. 313.

(*h*) See the Hiſtory, book iv. ſ. 42.

(*i*) For Regulus, ſee Pliny the Younger, lib. i. epiſt. 5; and Life of Agricola, ſ. ii. note (*a*).

(*k*) For Piſo, adopted by Galba, ſee Hiſtory, i. ſ. 15 and 16.

(*l*) See the Geographical Table.

(*m*) Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 24.

Section XII.

(*a*) Trachalus was an orator of eminence, commended by Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. He is alſo mentioned by Tacitus, Hiſtory, i. ſ. 90.

(*b*) In the liſt of Roman poets, whom Quintilian has criticiſed, no mention is made of Silius Italicus. It is therefore probable, that his work had not appeared, when Quintilian publiſhed his Inſtitutes, in the reign of Domitian. Silius (like Lucan before him) undertook to make a great hiſtorical event the ſubject of an epic poem; but departing from the precedent left by Lucan, he has interwoven with the truth too much of fable, and what the critics call machinery. The poem, however, has many beautiful paſſages. The author raiſed a conſiderable fortune, and was poſſeſſed of two villas; one that had been the property of Cicero, and the other of Virgil. He lived to the age of ſeventy-five, and then put an end to his days by abſtinence; being inſtructed in the ſtoic ſchool, and by the practice of the age, that

ſuicide was not againſt the law of nature. Seneca, the admired philoſopher, has, among many others, the following maxim: "Live ſo, as to welcome death; and even if you think fit, to ſeek it. Whether it comes to you, or you go to it, is immaterial. *Exerce te, ut mortem et excipias, et, ſi ita res ſuadebit, arceſſas. Intereſt nihil, an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos.* Epiſt. lxix. It was not underſtood by Seneca, nor was the light of nature ſtrong enough to inform the ſtoic ſchool, that the life into which we are called, ought to be preſerved during the pleaſure of the Supreme Being that gave it. Pliny the conſul gives an account of the death of Silius Italicus. Towards the end of a long life, he had contracted an incurable diſeaſe, and t' erefore reſolved to cloſe the ſcene. He had practiſed at the bar in the beginning of life, and, in Nero's time, incurred the diſgrace of being a voluntary accuſer. *Læſerat famam ſuam ſub Nerone; credebatur ſponte accuſaſſe.* But he afterwards, in a more retired life, retrieved his reputation. *Maculam veteris induſtriæ laudabili otio abluerat.* He was a poet, but he wrote with more care than genius. *Scribebat carmina majore curâ, quam ingenio.* He poſſeſſed a number of villas, and had a large collection of books, ſtatues, and pictures. He celebrated Virgil's birth-day, and viſited his tomb near Naples, as if it were a temple. It was his glory, that Nero periſhed in his conſulſhip, and by that event the world was delivered from a monſter. Pliny, book iii. epiſt. 7. Martial has left ſeveral epigrams in praiſe of Silius Italicus, whom, as it ſeems, he eſteemed and loved.

(*c*) Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 25.

(*d*) This cuſtom is recorded by Vitruvius, book ix. and Suetonius, ſ. 25.

(*e*) Flamminius triumphed over the laſt Philip of Macedon, and Mummius conquered Corinth.

(*f*) For Antium, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*h*) Suetonius mentions the car of Auguſtus, and the proceſſion to the temple of Apollo, ſ. 25.

(*i*) Suetonius, ſ. 25.

(*k*) This was, probably, the conſpiracy formed by Vinicius. See Sueton. in Nero, ſ. 36.

(*l*) The

(*l*) The particulars here related, are told by Plutarch, in his Eſſay on Garrulity.

(*m*) See Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 40.

(*n*) The Hither Spain was called *Hiſpania Terraconenſis*. In that province, Galba received letters from Vindex, requeſting him to put himſelf at the head of mankind, the aſſertor of public liberty. Sueton. in Galba, ſ. 9.

(*o*) This ſpeech of Vindex is recorded by Dio, lib. lxiii.

(*p*) Now *Carthagena*, in Spain.

(*q*) See Suetonius, in Galba, ſ. 10.

(*r*) Seneca, and his brother Annæus Mela, were born at Corduba, in Spain. Lucan, the poet, was a native of the ſame country.

(*s*) Rufinus Criſpinus, the ſon of Poppæa, by her firſt huſband. He was uſed, among his play-fellows, to act the part of a general, or an emperor, and for that boyiſh amuſement was ordered to be drowned in the ſea. Sueton. in Nero, ſ. 35.

(*t*) Suetonius ſays, Galba, holding a general convention at New Carthage, in Spain, under pretence of preſiding at the manumiſſion of ſlaves, placed around the court the ſtatues or images of ſeveral who had fallen victims to Nero's cruelty; and in the midſt of his harangue, preſented to the aſſembly a noble youth, who had been baniſhed to the next Balearic iſland (now Majorca), and was brought from his place of exile to be exhibited as an object of compaſſion. Sueton. in Galba, ſ. 10.

(*u*) Nero called a council of his favourites, and, after a ſhort conference on the ſtate of affairs, paſſed the reſt of the day in ſhewing ſome muſical inſtruments, which, on a new conſtruction, were kept in play by the operation of water. He explained the principles of that ingenious piece of mechaniſm, declaring his reſolution to exhibit it on the ſtage, if Vindex would give him leave. Sueton. in Nero, ſ. 41. Dio, lib. lxiii.

(*w*) Nero was the ſon of Domitius Ænobarbus. See the Genealogical Table. He thought it a diſparagement to be called by his paternal name; but nothing enraged him ſo much, as to find himſelf railed at as a comedian and harper. Sueton. in Nero, ſ. 41.

(*x*) See Crevier, vol. iv. All that follows concerning Virginius Rufus, and the defeat of Vindex, is there related at large.

(*y*) For the Sequani, the Ædui, Arverni, and Lingones, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*z*) For Veſontium, ſee the Geographical Table.

(*aa*) Otho, afterwards emperor, was appointed governor of Luſitania, that Nero might ſecure Poppæa to himſelf. Annals, xiii. ſ. 46. Plutarch's Life of Galba.

(*bb*) For Clunia, ſee the Geographical Table.

Section XIII.

(*a*) This incident is told by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 41.

(*b*) This cargo of ſand, with the popular diſcontents that followed, is ſtated by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 45. See Pliny, lib. xxxv. ſ. 13.

(*c*) For Nymphidius, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 72. For Tigellinus, Annals, xiv. ſ. 57; and xv. ſ. 37.

(*d*) The wild and deſperate projects conceived by Nero, in his frantic moments, and brought to light by a favourite eunuch, are recorded by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 43.

(*e*) The line in the Œdipus of Sophocles is,

Θανεῖν μ' ἀνωγε συγγαμος, μήτηρ, πατήρ.

(*f*) Phaon's fidelity is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 48.

(*g*) The paſſage in Virgil,

Uſque adeone mori miſerum eſt?

ÆNEID. xii. ver. 646.

(*h*) Locuſta has been mentioned, Annals, xiii. ſ. 15. Suetonius ſays, that Nero received a doſe of poiſon from Locuſta, which he carried with him into the Servilian gardens. Not having courage to uſe it, he endeavoured to find Spicillus, the gladiator, or ſome perſon, to kill him. In that diſtreſs, he cried out, *Nec amicum habeo, nec inimicum.* Sueton. in Nero, ſ. 47.

(*i*) Suetonius relates this fact, ſ. 48. Brotier ſays, Phaon's villa is now called, *La Serpentara.*

(*k*) See

(*k*) See Suetonius in Nero, ſ. 49. *Hoſtem a ſenatu judicatum, et quæri ut puniatur more majorum.* It is impoſſible to read this paſſage without feeling a thouſand mixed emotions. We acknowledge the juſtice of the ſentence; we know that vengeance was due to the perpetrator of ſo many horrible crimes; and we rejoice to find that the ſenate could reſume its long-forgotten dignity, and act even for a day with a becoming ſpirit. The intereſts of humanity required that the world ſhould be delivered from ſuch a monſter.

The caſe is very different, when LOUIS XVI. is cited to appear before a French Convention. We ſee the moſt benevolent of men tried by an aſſembly of *aſſaſſins*, *plunderers*, *levellers*, and ATHEISTS; by the ſcum and dregs of France, mixed with the refuſe of other nations. When a good and virtuous, an upright and blameleſs monarch is ſentenced, contrary to every principle of truth and juſtice, to ſuffer as a criminal; indignation is, for the moment, loſt in aſtoniſhment at the daring guilt of men, who have emerged from obſcurity to be the tyrants of their country; a PANDÆMONIUM of regicides! France is now left without CHURCH or KING; without law or morals; without a conſtitution; and without humanity. The nations of Europe ſhudder with horror at the bloody tragedy that has been acted. The virtues, which the MURDERED KING diſplayed, with wonderful meekneſs, on the throne, in priſon, and on the ſcaffold, are now known to the world. They will be tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity, and

> Will plead, like angels trumpet-tongued, againſt
> The DEEP DAMNATION of his taking off.

But the DEMAGOGUES of France will perhaps not allow that Shakeſpear is a great moral teacher: let them hear their own Boileau:

> Quoi! ce peuple aveugle en ſon crime,
> Qui prenant ſon roi pour victime,
> Fit du trône un théâtre affreux;
> Penſe-t-il que le Ciel, complice
> D'un ſi funeſte ſacrifice,
> N'a pour lui ni foudre ni feux?

(*l*) The

(*l*) The particulars of Nero's flight, above related, and thoſe that follow, are told by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 48.

(*m*) He took ſome water out of a ditch and drank it, ſaying, *Hæc eſt Neronis decocta.* Being taken into the houſe, creeping on his hands and knees through a hole that was made for him, he lay on a mean bed, with a tattered coverlet thrown over it, and being both hungry and thirſty, he refuſed ſome coarſe bread that was brought to him, but drank a little warm water. *Quadrupes per anguſtias effoſſæ cavernæ receptus in proximam cellam, decubuit ſuper lectum modicellâ culcitâ et vetere pallio ſtrato inſtructum. Fameque interim et ſiti interpellante, panem quidem ſordidum oblatum aſpernatus eſt, aquæ autem tepidæ aliquantulum bibit.* Suet. in Neron. ſ. 48.

(*n*) Suetonius, ſ. 49.

(*o*) *Qualis artifex pereo!* Suet. ſ. 49, where the following circumſtances are related.

(*p*) The line in Homer is,

Ιππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ὀμφὶ κλύπος ἅατα βαλλεῖ.

(*q*) He ſaid to the centurion, *Sero: et hæc eſt fides?* Thoſe were his laſt words. See the deſcription of his ghaſtly figure, Suet. ſ. 49.

(*r*) Suetonius gives the ſame account of his age. *Obiit ſecundo et trigeſſimo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat.* In Neron. ſ. 57.

(*s*) The public joy was ſo great, that the people ran to and fro, with caps upon their heads. *Tantumque gaudium publice præbuit, ut plebs pilcata totâ urbe diſcurreret.* Suet. in Neron. ſ. 57.

(*t*) See Suetonius, ſ. 50.

(*u*) Suetonius ſays, *Non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æſtiviſque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent.* S. 57.

(*w*) The readineſs of the Parthians to aſſiſt a pretended Nero, is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, ſ. 57; and alſo by Tacitus, Hiſtory, i. ſ. 2.

Section XV.

(a) A number of prodigies mentioned by Suetonius, in Galba, ſ. i. Dio, lxiii. Pliny, ii. ſ. 83 and 103.

(b) Plutarch ſays he arrived in Spain on the ſeventh day after Nero's death. See the Life of Galba.

(c) Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(d) Galba was born in the conſulſhip of Valerius Meſſalinus and Cneius Lentulus, A. U. C. 751, on the ninth of the kalends of January, in a villa near Terracina. Suet. in Galba, ſ. 4.

(e) See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(f) Plutarch, in Galba, gives the ſame account.

(g) See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(h) Plutarch relates this ſaying of Mauricus; for more of whom ſee Hiſtory, iv. ſ. 40; and Life of Agricola, ſ. 45.

(i) We read in Suetonius, that Galba was governed by three favourites; Titus Vinius, his lieutenant in Spain; Cornelius Laco, who was advanced to the command of the prætorian guards; and his freedman Icelus, who was dignified with the privilege of wearing a ring, and the name of Martianus. To theſe men Galba reſigned himſelf with ſuch implicit confidence, that his conduct was never conſiſtent; at one time frugal and rigorous; at another remiſs, complying, and more laviſh than became a prince of his advanced age, who had been raiſed to the imperial dignity by the voice of the people. Suet. in Galba, ſ. 14. For more of the three favourites, ſee the Hiſtory, i. ſ. 6 and 13.

(k) Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(l) For the origin of Nymphidius, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 72.

(m) Plutarch, Life of Galba. Cingonius Varro has already occurred, Annals, xiv. ſ. 45.

(n) For more of Honoratus, ſee Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(o) This ſpeech may be ſeen in Plutarch.

(p) See Plutarch, in Galba; though Suetonius ſays, Galba was no way allied to the houſe of Cæſar. Suet. in Galba, ſ. 2.

(q) All theſe particulars are to be found in Plutarch.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Plutarch, Life of Galba. For Mithridates brought before the emperor Claudius, ſee Annals, xii. ſ. 21; and Hiſtory, i. ſ. 6.

(*b*) For Petronius Turpilianus, ſee Annals, xv. ſ. 72; and Hiſtory, i. ſ. 6.

(*c*) Suetonius, in Galba, ſ. 11.

(*d*) The fate of Obultronius Sabinus, Cornelius Marcellus, and Betuus Chilo, is mentioned by Tacitus, Hiſtory, i. ſ. 37.

(*e*) For Clodius Macer, murdered in Africa, ſee Hiſtory, i. ſ. 3 and 11.

(*f*) For an account of Calvia Criſpinilla, ſee Hiſtory, i. ſ. 72.

(*g*) Fonteius Capito, Hiſtory, i. ſ. 7, 8, and 58.

(*h*) His name was Julius Paulus Claudius Civilis. For more of this famous Batavian chief, ſee Hiſtory, book i. ſ. 59; book iv. ſ. 13, 14; and throughout the war, which he waged againſt the Romans, to the cloſe of book v. ſ. 26.

(*i*) Fabius Valens contrived the murder of Fonteius Capito, in the Lower Germany, Hiſtory, i. ſ. 7. He is mentioned often as the partiſan of Vitellius. He was at laſt taken priſoner by Veſpaſian's party. Hiſtory, iii. ſ. 43.

(*k*) This man murdered Fonteius Capito by order of Fabius Valens, and was afterwards given up by Vitellius to the reſentment of the ſoldiers. Hiſtory, i. ſ. 58.

(*l*) See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(*m*) Suetonius, in Galba, ſ. 11.

(*n*) After a reign of luxury and diſſipation, the rigid parſimony of Galba was unſeaſonable, and, by conſequence, rendered him unpopular. Suetonius relates ſeveral inſtances of his avarice beneath the dignity of a prince. He adds, that ſoon after Galba's arrival in Rome, when he attended the performance of an Attelane Fable, as ſoon as the actors began the firſt verſe of a favourite ſong,

Venit Io! Simus a villa,

Here's Farmer Flatnoſe come from his villa, the whole audience, with

one voice ſung the ſong, repeating the firſt verſe ſeveral times. Suet. in Galba, ſ. 13.

(o) This cruel ſlaughter is told by Plutarch, Life of Galba.

(p) See Suetonius, in Galba, ſ. 14; and Hiſtory, i. ſ. 6 and 13.

END OF NOTES

ON THE

APPENDIX.

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

OR,

INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PLACES

THAT OCCUR IN THIS VOLUME.

A.

ADIABENE, a diſtrict of Aſſyria, ſo called from the river Adiaba; *Adiabeni*, the people.

ADRUMETUM, a Phœnician colony in Africa, about ſeventeen miles from Leptis Minor.

ALBA, a town of Latium in Italy, the reſidence of the Alban kings: deſtroyed by Tullus Hortilius.

ALBANIA, a country of Aſia, bounded on the weſt by Iberia, on the eaſt by the Caſpian Sea, on the ſouth by Armenia, and on the north by Mount Caucaſus.

ALESIA, a town in Celtic Gaul, ſituate on a hill. It was beſieged by Julius Cæſar. See his Commentaries, lib. vii. f. 77.

ANEMURIUM, a promontory of Cilicia, with a maritime town of the ſame name near it. See Pomponius Mela.

ANSIBARII, a people of Germany.

ANTIUM, a city of the ancient Volſci, ſituate on the Tuſcan Sea; the birth-place of Nero. Two Fortunes were worſhipped there, which Suetonius calls *Fortunæ Antiates*, and Martial, *Sorores Antii*. Horace's Ode to Fortune is well known—

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium.

The place is now called *Capo d'Anzo*.

ANTONA, now the *Avon*. See Camden.

AORSI, a people inhabiting near the Palus Mæotis; now the eaſtern part of Tartary, between the *Neiper* and the *Don*.

APAMEA, a city of Phrygia, near the banks of the Mæander; now *Aphiom-Kara-Hiſar*.

ARAXES, a river of Meſopotamia, which runs from north to ſouth, and falls into the Euphrates.

ARAR, or ARARIS, a river of Gaul; now the *Soane*.

ARBELA, a city of Aſſyria, famous for the battle between Alexander and Darius.

ARCADIA, an inland diſtrict in the heart of Peloponneſus; mountainous, and only fit for paſture; therefore celebrated by bucolic or paſtoral poets.

ARICIA, a town of Latium, at the foot of Mons Albanus.

ARII, a people of Aſia.

ARMENIA, a country of Aſia, having Albania and Iberia to the north; divided into the GREATER, which extends eaſtward to the Caſpian Sea; and the LESSER, to the weſt of the GREATER, and ſeparated from it by the Euphrates; now called *Turcomania*.

ARSANIAS, a river of the GREATER ARMENIA, running between Tigranocerta and Artaxata, and falling into the Euphrates.

ARVERNI, a people of Ancient Gaul, inhabiting near the Loire; their chief city *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the capital of *Auvergne*.

ASCALON, an ancient city of the Philiſtines, ſituate on the Mediterranean; now *Scalona*.

B.

BACTRIANI, a people inhabiting a part of Aſia, to the ſouth of the river *Oxus*, which runs from eaſt to weſt into the Caſpian Sea.

BAIÆ,

BAIÆ, a village of Campania, between the promontory of Miſenum and Puteoli (now *Pozzuolo)*, nine miles to the weſt of Naples.

BALEARES, a cluſter of iſlands in the Mediterranean, of which *Majorca* and *Minorca* are the chief.

BITHYNIA, a country of Aſia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine Sea, adjoining to Troas, over againſt Thrace; now *Becſangial.*

BONONIA, called by Tacitus *Bononienſis;* now *Bologna*, capital of the *Bologneſe* in Italy.

BOSPHORANI; a people bordering on the Euxine; the *Tartars.*

BOSPHORUS, two ſtraits of the ſea ſo called; one *Boſphorus Thracius*, now *the ſtraits of Conſtantinople;* the other *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, now *the ſtraits of Caffa.*

BOVILLÆ, a town of Latium, near Mount Albanus; about ten miles from Rome, on the Appian Road.

BRUNDUSIUM, a town of Calabria, with an excellent harbour, at the entrance of the Adriatic, affording a commodious paſſage to Greece. The Via Appia ended at this town; now *Brindiſi*, in the territory of *Otranto*, in the kingdom of Naples.

BYZANTIUM, a city of Thrace, on the narrow ſtrait that ſeparates Europe from Aſia; now *Conſtantinople.* See Tacitus, Annals, xii. f. 63.

C.

CALABRIA, a peninſula of Italy, between Tarentum and Brunduſium.

CAMELODUNUM, ſaid by ſome to be *Malden* in Eſſex, but by Camden, and others, *Colcheſter.* It was made a Roman colony under the emperor Claudius; a place of pleaſure rather than of ſtrength, adorned with ſplendid works; a theatre and a temple of Claudius.

CAMERIUM, a city in the territory of the Sabines; now deſtroyed.

CANINEFATES, a people who inhabited the lower part of Germany, the weſt ſide of *Batavia.*

CANGI, the inhabitants of Cheſhire, and part of Lancaſhire.

CAPUA, now *Capoa*, a city in the kingdom of Naples. It was the ſeat of pleaſure, and the ruin of Hannibal.

CAPPADOCIA, an extenſive country in Aſia Minor, upon the Euxine Sea.

CASSIOPE, a town in the iſland of Corcyra (now *Corfou)*, called at preſent *St. Maria di Caſſopo.*

CARTHAGO, a city in Africa, the well known rival of Rome, ſuppoſed to be built by Dido ſeventy years after the foundation of Rome.

CARTHAGO NOVA, a town of *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, or the Hither Spain; now *Carthagena.*

CATTI, inhabitants of what is now called *Heſſe*, in Germany.

CENCHRIÆ, a port of Corinth, ſituate about ten miles towards the eaſt; now *Kenkri.*

CHAUCI, a maritime people of Germany, between the *Ems* (Amiſia) and the *Elb* (Albis).

CHALCEDON, a city of Bithynia, ſituate at the mouth of the Euxine, over-againſt Byzantium. It was called the *City of the Blind.* See Tacitus, Annals, xii. f. 63.

CHERUSCI, a great and warlike people of Ancient Germany, between the *Elb* and the *Weſer.*

CILICIA, an extenſive country of the Hither Aſia, with Syria to the eaſt, and the Mediterranean to the ſouth.

CIRRHA, a town of Phocis, near Delphi, ſacred to Apollo.

CLITÆ, a people of Cilicia.

CLUNIA, a city in the Hither Spain.

COOS, an iſland in the Ægean Sea; now *Stan-Co.*

COMMAGENE, a diſtrict of Syria, with the Euphrates on the eaſt, and Mount Taurus on the north.

CORCYRA, an iſland in the Adriatic; now *Corfou.*

CORMA, a river in Aſia; mentioned by Tacitus only.

CUMÆ, a town of Campania, near Cape Miſenum, famous for the cave of the Cumæan Sybil.

CYRENENSES, a people of Africa, in a part now called *the Deſert of Barca.* Cyrene their capital city; now *Curin.*

D.

DAHÆ, a people of Scythia, to the ſouth of the Caſpian, with the Maſſagetæ

on the eaſt. Virgil calls them *indomitique Dahæ*.

DANDARIDÆ, a people bordering on the Euxine. Brotier ſays that ſome veſtiges of the nation, and its name, ſtill exiſt at a place called *Dandars*.

DYRRACHIUM, a town on the coaſt of Illyricum. Its port anſwered to that of Brunduſium, and the paſſage was ready and expeditious.

E.

ECBATANA, the capital of Media; now *Hamedan*.

EDESSA, a town of Meſopotamia; now *Orrhoa*, or *Orfa*.

EPHESUS, an ancient and celebrated city of Ionia in Aſia Minor; the birth-place of Heraclitus, the weeping philoſopher. It is now called *Efeſo*.

ERINDE, a river of Aſia, mentioned by Tacitus only.

EUPHRATES, a river univerſally allowed to take its riſe in Armenia Major. It divides into two branches, one running through Babylon, and the other through Selcucia. It bounds Meſopotamia on the weſt.

ÆDUI, a people of Ancient Gaul, near what is now called *Autun*, in Lower Burgundy.

ÆGEÆ, a maritime town of Cilicia; now *Aias Kala*.

ÆQUI, a people of Ancient Latium.

F.

FERENTINUM, a town of Latium; now *Ferentino*.

FERENTUM, a town of Etruria; now *Ferenti*.

FORMIÆ, a maritime town of Italy, to the ſouth-eaſt of *Cajeta*. The ruins of the place are ſtill viſible.

FRISII, a people of Ancient Germany, who inhabited what is now called *Frieſland*.

G.

GABII, a town of Latium, between Rome and Preneſte. A particular manner of tucking up the gown, adopted by the Roman conſuls when they declared war or attended a ſacrifice, was called *Cinctus Gabinus*. The place now extinct.

GALLIA, the country of Ancient Gaul, now *France*. It was divided by the Romans into *Gallia Ciſalpina*, viz. Gaul on the Italian ſide of the Alps, with the *Rubicon* for its boundary to the ſouth. It was alſo called *Gallia Togata*, from the uſe made by the inhabitants of the Roman *Toga*. It was likewiſe called *Gallia Tranſpadana* or *Ciſpadana*, with reſpect to Rome. The ſecond great diviſion of Gaul was *Gallia Tranſalpina*, or *Ulterior*, being, with reſpect to Rome, on the other ſide of the Alps. It was alſo called *Gallia Comata*, from the people wearing their hair long, which the Romans wore ſhort. The ſouthern part was GALLIA NARBONENSIS, *Narbon Gaul*, called likewiſe *Braccata*, from the uſe of *braccæ*, or breeches, which were no part of the Roman dreſs; now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*. For the other diviſions of Gaul on this ſide of the Alps, into *Gallia Belgica*, *Celtica*, *Aquitanica*, further ſub-divided by Auguſtus, ſee the Manners of the Germans, f. 1, note (*a*).

GALATIA, or GALLOGRÆCIA, a country of Aſia Minor, lying between *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Paphlagonia*; now called *Chiangare*.

GALILÆA, the northern part of Canaan, or Paleſtine, bounded on the north by *Phœnicia*, on the ſouth by *Samaria*, on the eaſt by the *Jordan*, and on the weſt by the *Mediterranean*.

GARIZIM, a mountain of Samaria, famous for a temple built on it by permiſſion of Alexander the Great.

H.

HERMUNDURI, a people of Germany, in part of what is now called Upper Saxony, bounded on the north by the river *Sala*, on the eaſt by the *Elbe*, and on the ſouth by the *Danube*.

HYRCANIA, a country of the Farther Aſia, to the ſouth-eaſt of the Caſpian, with Media on the weſt, and Parthia on the ſouth; famous for its tigers. Virgil; Shakeſpear, the Hyrcanian tiger.

I.

JAPHA, a ſtrong place, both by nature and art, in the Lower Galilee, not far from *Jotapata*; now *Saphet*.

JAZYGES, a people of Sarmatia Europæa, ſituate on this ſide of the Palus Mæotis, near the territory of Maroboduus, the German king.

IBERIA, an inland country of Aſia,

bounded by Mount Caucafus on the north, by Albania on the eaſt, by Colchis and part of Pontus on the weſt, and by Armenia on the ſouth. Spain was alſo called Iberia, from the river Iberus; now the *Ebro*.

ICENI, a people of Britain; now *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*.

ILIUM, the famous city of Troy, at a greater diſtance from the ſea than what was afterwards called *Ilium Novum*.

ILLYRICUM, the country between Pannonia to the north, and the Adriatic to the ſouth. It is now chiefly comprehended under *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, under the reſpective dominion of the Venetians and the Turks.

ISICHI, a people bordering on the Euxine, towards the eaſt.

INSUBRIA, a country of Gallia Ciſalpina; now the *Milaneſe*.

ITURÆA, a *Transjordan* diſtrict of Paleſtine, now *Bacar*.

JUGANTES, ſaid by Camden to be the ſame as the *Brigantes*; but Brotier thinks it probable that they were a diſtinct people.

L.

LANGOBARDI, a people of Germany, between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, in part of what is now called *Brandenburg*.

LAODICEA, a city of Phrygia, now *Ladik*.

LESBOS, an iſland in the Ægean Sea, near the coaſt of Aſia Minor; now called *Metelin*.

LECHÆUM, the weſt port of Corinth, which the people uſed for their Italian trade, as they did *Cenchræ* for their eaſtern or Aſiatic.

LIGURIA, a part of Italy, extending from the Apennine to the Tuſcan Sea, containing what is now called *Ferrara*, and the *territories of Genoa*.

LINGONES, a people of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting in and about *Langres* and *Dijon*.

LUCANIA, a country of Ancient Italy; now called the *Baſilicate*.

LUSITANIA, now the kingdom of *Portugal*, on the weſt of Spain, formerly a part of it.

LYGII, an ancient people of Germany, who inhabited the country now called *Sileſia*, and alſo part of *Poland*.

M.

MARDI, a people of the Farther Aſia, near the Caſpian Sea.

MASSILIA, a city of Narbon Gaul; now *Marſeilles*, a port town of *Provence*.

MATTIACI, a people of Germany; *Mattium*, their capital town; now *Marpurg* in *Heſſe*.

MAURITANIA, an ancient large region of Africa, extending from eaſt to weſt along the Mediterranean, divided by the Emperor Claudius into Cæſarienſis the eaſtern part, and Tingitana the weſtern, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the ſtraits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean, to the north.

MEDIA, a country of the Farther Aſia, terminated on the north by the Caſpian Sea, on the weſt by Armenia, on the eaſt by Parthia, and on the ſouth by Aſſyria.

MELITENE, a city of Cappadocia.

MESOPOTAMIA, a large country in the middle of Aſia, between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

MÆOTIS PALUS, a lake of Sarmatia Europæa, ſtill known by the ſame name, and reaching from Crim Tartary to the mouth of the *Tanais* (the *Don*).

MILVIUS PONS, a bridge over the Tiber, at the diſtance of two miles from Rome, on the *Via Flamminia*; now called *Ponte-Molle*.

MISENUM, promontory in Campania, to the ſouth-weſt of *Baiæ*.

MONA, an iſland ſeparated from the coaſt of the Ordovices by a narrow ſtrait, the ancient ſeat of the Druids. Now the iſle of *Angleſey*.

MOSA, a large river of Gallia Belgica, which falls into the German Ocean below the *Briel*; now the *Meuſe*.

MOSELLA, a river which, running through Lorrain, falls into the Rhine at *Coblentz*; now called the *Moſelle*.

N.

NARBONENSIS GALLIA, the ſouthern part of Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenees to the weſt, the Mediterranean to the ſouth, and the Alps and the Rhine to the eaſt.

NEMETES, a people originally of Germany, removed to the dioceſe of *Spire*, on the Rhine.

NICEPHORUS, a river of Aſia that waſhes the

the walls of *Tigranocerta*, and runs into the *Tigris*; *D'Anville* says, now called *Khabour*.

NINOS, the capital of *Aſſyria*; called alſo *Nineve*.

NISIBIS, a city of Meſopotamia, at this day called *Noſibin*.

NUCERIA, a city of Campania; now *Nocera*.

NUMIDIA, a country of Africa, bounded to the north by the Mediterranean; now the eaſtern part of the kingdom of Algiers.

O.

ORDOVICES, a people who inhabited what we now call *Flintſhire*, *Denbighſhire*, *Carnarvon*, and *Merionethſhire*, in North Wales.

OSTIA, a town formerly of note, at the mouth of the *Tiber*, on the ſouth ſide.

P.

PALUS MÆOTIS; ſee Mæotis.

PANDA, a river of Aſia, in the territory of the *Siraci*; not well known.

PANDATARIA, an iſland of the Tuſcan Sea, in the Sinus Puteolanus (now *il Golfo di Napoli*), the place of baniſhment for illuſtrious exiles, viz. Julia the daughter of Auguſtus, Agrippina the wife of Germanicus, Octavia the daughter of Claudius, and many others. It is now called *L'Iſle Sainte-Marie*.

PANNONIA, an extenſive country of Europe, with Mæſia on the eaſt, Noricum on the weſt, Dalmatia on the ſouth, and the Danube on the north.

PARTHIA, a country of the Farther Aſia, with Media on the weſt, Aſia on the eaſt, and Hyrcania on the north.

PLACENTIA, a town in Italy; now called *Placenza*, in the duchy of Parma.

POMPEII, a town of Campania, near Herculaneum. It was deſtroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Nero.

PONTUS, a country ſituate between the Euxine on the eaſt, the mouth of the *Iſter* to the north, and Mount Hæmus to the ſouth.

PRÆNESTE, a town of Latium to the ſouth-eaſt of Rome, ſtanding very high, and ſaid to be a ſtrong place. The town that ſucceeded it, ſtands low in a valley, and is called *Paleſtrina*.

PUTEOLI, a town of Campania, nine miles to the weſt of Naples; now *Pozzuolo*.

R.

REMI, a people of Gaul, who inhabited the northern part of *Champagne*; now the city of *Rheims*.

RHODANUS, a famous river of Gaul, riſing on Mount Adula, not far from the head of the Rhine. After a conſiderable circuit it enters the *Lake of Geneva*, and in its courſe viſits the city of Lyons, and from that place traverſes a large tract of country, and falls into the Mediterranean. It is now called the *Rhone*.

RHODUS, a celebrated iſland in the Mediterranean, near the coaſt of Aſia Minor, over-againſt *Caria*.

S.

SABRINA, now the *Severn*; a river that riſes in *Montgomeryſhire*, and running by *Shrewſbury*, *Worceſter*, and *Gloceſter*, empties itſelf into the Briſtol Channel, ſeparating Wales from England.

SAMBULOS, a mountain in the territory of the Parthians, with the river *Corma* near it. The mountain and the river are mentioned by Tacitus only.

SAMARIA, the capital of the country of that name in Paleſtine; the reſidence of the kings of Iſrael, and afterwards of Herod. *Samaritans*, the name of the people. Some magnificent ruins of the place are ſtill remaining.

SAMNITES, a people of ancient Italy, famous for their wars with Rome.

SARDINIA, an iſland in the Mediterranean, now belonging to the Duke of Savoy.

SELEUCIA, a city of Meſopotamia, ſituate at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*; now called *Bagdad*.

SENONES, inhabitants of Celtic Gaul, ſituate on the *Sequana* (now the *Seine*); a people famous for their invaſion of Italy, and taking and burning Rome A. U. C. 364.

SEQUANI, an ancient people of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the country now called *Franche Comté*, or the *Upper Burgundy*.

SILURES, a people of Britain, ſituate on the *Severn* and the Briſtol Channel; now *South Wales*, compriſing *Glamorgan*, *Radnorſhire*, *Hereford*, and *Monmouth*. See Camden.

SIMBRUINI COLLES, the Simbruine Hills, ſo

ſo called from the *Simbruina Stagna*, or lakes formed by the river *Anio*, which gave the name of Sublaqueum to the neighbouring town.

Swinden, a river that flows on the confines of the *Dahæ*. It is mentioned by Tacitus only. Brotier ſuppoſes it to be what is now called *Herirud*, or *La Riviere d'Herat*.

Sinuessa, a town of Latium on the confines of Campania, beyond the river *Liris* (now *Garigliano*). The place was much frequented for the ſalubrity of its waters.

Siraci, a people of Aſia, between the *Euxine* and the *Caſpian* Seas.

Sophene, a country between the Greater and Leſſer Armenia; now called *Zoph*.

Soza, a city of the *Dandaridæ*.

Syracuse, one of the nobleſt cities in Sicily. The Romans took it during the ſecond Punic War, on which occaſion the great Archimedes loſt his life. It is now deſtroyed, and no remains of the place are left. *Etiam periêre ruinæ*.

Syria, a country of the Hither Aſia, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, ſo extenſive that Paleſtine, or the Holy Land, was deemed a part of Syria.

T.

Tanais, the *Don*, a very large river in Scythia, dividing Aſia from Europe. It riſes in Muſcovy, and flowing through *Crim Tartary*, runs into the *Palus Mæotis*, near the city now called Azoff, in the hands of the Turks.

Tarentum, now Tarento, in the province of *Otranto*. The Lacedæmonians founded a colony there, and thence it was called by Horace, *Lacedæmonium Tarentum*.

Tarichæa, a town of Galilee. It was beſieged and taken by Veſpaſian, who ſent ſix thouſand of the priſoners to aſſiſt in cutting a paſſage through the Iſthmus of Corinth.

Taunus, a mountain of Germany, on the other ſide of the Rhine; now Mount *Heyrick*, over-againſt *Mentz*.

Tauri, a people inhabiting the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, on the *Euxine*: The country is now called *Crim Tartary*.

Taurannitii, a people who occupied a diſtrict of *Armenia Major*, not far from *Tigranocerta*.

Thurii, a people of ancient Italy, inhabiting a part of Lucania, between the rivers Crathis (now *Crate*) and Sybaris (now *Sibari*).

Tibur, a town of Latium; now *Tivoli*.

Tigris, a great river of Aſia, riſing in Armenia. It bounds Meſopotamia on the eaſt, while the Euphrates incloſes it to the weſt. It divides into two channels at Seleucia.

Tigranocerta, a town of Armenia Major, built by Tigranes in the time of the Mithridatic War. The river *Nicephorus* waſhes one ſide of the town. Brotier ſays, it is now called *Sert* or *Sired*.

Trapezus, a city of Aſia, near the Pontic Sea; now *Trebizonde*.

Trinobantes, a people of Britain, who inhabited *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*.

Tusculum, a town of Latium, to the north of *Alba*, about twelve miles from Rome. It gave the name of *Tuſculanum* to Cicero's villa, where that great orator wrote his Tuſculan Queſtions.

Tyrus, an ancient city of Phœnicia, ſituate on an iſland ſo near the Continent, that Alexander the Great formed it into a Peninſula, by the mole or cauſey which he threw up during the ſiege. See Curtius, lib. iv. ſ. 7.

U.

Ubii, a people originally of Germany, but tranſplanted by Auguſtus to the weſt ſide of the Rhine, under the conduct of *Agrippa*. Their capital was for a long time called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, and, at laſt, changed by the empreſs Agrippina to *Colonia Agrippinenſis*; now *Cologne*, the capital of the Elector of that name. The *Ara Ubiorum* was an altar erected by the *Ubii* in honour of Auguſtus; but whether it was the ſame as their capital, or a different place, does not ſeem to be clearly aſcertained.

Uspe, a town in the territory of the *Siraci*; now deſtroyed.

Vangiones, originally inhabitants of Germany, but afterwards ſettled in Gaul; now the *dioceſe of Worms*.

Veneti, a people of Gallia Celtica, who inhabited what is now called *Vannes*, in the ſouth of Brittany, and alſo a conſiderable tract on the other ſide of the Alps, extending from the Po along the Adriatic, to the mouth of the *Iſter*.

VESONTIUM, the capital of the Sequani; now *Besançon*, the chief city of *Burgundy*.

VIENNÆ, a city of Narbonese Gaul; now *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*.

VOLSCI, a powerful people of ancient Latium, extending from *Antium*, their capital, to the *Upper Liris*, and the confines of *Campania*.

Z.

ZEUGMA, a town on the *Euphrates*, famous for a bridge over the river. See Pliny, lib. v. f. 24.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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